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VIETNAM: A TURNING POINT

THE EDITORS

VIETNAM WILL WIN

SHINGO SHIBATA

THE CUBAN CULTURAL CONGRESS

- JAMES HIGGINS
- ALONSO AGUILAR

An Interview with Miguel Angel Asturias

IRA MORRIS

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NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

We originally intended to devote this month's Review of the Month to the Pueblo incident and its implications for the United States position in Asia and around the world. But before a first draft was completed there came the world-shaking news of the NLF's general offensive in South Vietnam, which we certainly did not want to wait to analyze. So we changed the subject at the last minute. Unfortunately, because of the previously made plans to leave for Cuba early in February, we had to rely on early reports of the events in Vietnam. As a result, the Review of the Month inevitably has a preliminary character. We are confident, however, that the main conclusions will stand up. And we will of course return to the subject in later issues when fuller information is available.

The purpose of our trip to Cuba—where we expect to be when this issue reaches you—is to gather information for a new special number on the Cuban Revolution, similar to *Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution,* which first appeared as the July-August issue of 1960 and was subsequently published as MR Press's all-time best-selling book. We will decide when we get back and see what we have whether the new special issue on Cuba should also be published in book form.

On Tuesday, January 30th, at 7 p.m. WBAI, the listener-supported radio station in New York, inaugurated a new monthly half-hour program

(Continued on inside back cover)

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TURNING POINT IN VIETNAM

Official United States spokesmen in Washington and Saigon, aided and abetted as usual by the news media, are attempting to put two principal but by no means mutually exclusive interpretations on the most recent developments in South Vietnam. First, they claim that the general uprising in all the main cities and towns of the country is a last desperate fling of the Vietcong which either already has been or very soon will be militarily crushed. And second, they assert that the timing and scale of the attacks were designed to pin down or draw off United States and South Vietnamese forces from the impending battle between United States Marines and North Vietnamese regulars at Khesanh in the northwest corner of South Vietnam. These interpretations flow from a narrow military view of the Vietnamese situation—it is instructive to note how often Johnson, at his news conference of February 2nd, stressed that he was reflecting the "best military advice" he could get—and they lead naturally to the conclusion that if the enemy can be foiled at Khesanh it will have suffered something very close to a disaster.

This is the impression conveyed in the headlines and the lead stories. And yet a careful reading of the inside pages of the *New York Times,* and perhaps of some of the other large metropolitan dailies, provides material for a wholly different interpretation. Since many readers do not have access to these major newspapers, and since many of those who do cannot spare the time needed to study them with care, it may be useful to present here a collection of verbatim quotations. They are all from the *New York Times* of the first five days of February and each is identified by source and date of filing.

"This is a terrible loss of face for the government," an informed Vietnamese said. "Many people are very discouraged." (*Charles Mohr, Saigon, February 2*)

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Intelligence reports indicated a strong likelihood of a Vietcong attack on towns . . . , and on Monday night General Weyand [commander of United States forces in the eleven provinces surrounding Saigon] ordered all units into a "maximum alert posture."

Nonetheless by Tuesday morning, large enemy forces had infiltrated Saigon. In a guerrilla war such infiltration can never be prevented, General Weyand said. While the population did not stage an uprising to welcome the Vietcong, General Weyand conceded that local guerrilla units had "performed an invaluable service" in guiding main units through the thin screen of South Vietnamese security forces around Saigon.

While saying that the Vietcong had failed to capture almost all of their military objectives in the attacks, General Weyand conceded that the Vietcong had concentrated on "remunerative" objectives of political and psychological warfare. This is the point of the new strategy, he said. (*Ibid*)

The Vietcong attacks have hit nearly every important province capital in the country, scores of district capitals, and many airfields, helicopter landing zones, and military installations. . . .

Among the points the attacks may have demonstrated are these:

- Despite official statistics to the contrary, no part of the country is secure either from terrorist bombs or from organized military operations.

- Even local guerrilla battalions, as distinct from the main force, still possess highly efficient communications, leadership, and coordination. Despite the prevalence of government informers and security agents, the battalions are able to carry out their preparations in secrecy. They have an arsenal of excellent weapons.

- Most important, after years of fighting and tens of thousands of casualties, the Vietcong can still find thousands of men who are ready not only to strike at night and slip away but also to undertake missions in which death is the only possible outcome. (*Tom Buckley, Saigon, February 1*)

Tactically, the results obtained by the Vietcong this week may appear hardly worth the sacrifices. The feeling here [Hanoi] is that field results were not the objective. Rather, observers think, the Liberation Front wanted to show its forceful presence in the ostensibly secure "pacified" areas, or fortified sanctuaries, and thereby to crack the morale of the Southern army and the segment of the population that is loyal to the government.

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The North Vietnamese press has emphasized reports that Southern officers joined or aided Vietcong units in the cities this week, and that the population hid them until it was time to strike.

Official reaction can be summed up in these points:

• By striking simultaneously in sustained attacks with a violence and scope never before achieved, officials say, the Vietcong forces proved that their initiative was intact and that the allies' nerve centers and supposed strongpoints were highly vulnerable.

• The situation of American forces around South Vietnam has been shown to be critical, officials say.

• The Saigon government and its army are "disoriented to the highest degree." Local government forces have been "cut to pieces," officials say. They feel that Saigon's authority was swept away overnight at various administrative levels in cities and whole provinces.

• More battles remain to be fought, officials say. This week's action has been one step in a series of attacks that will continue "without easing or interruption." (*Agence France Presse, Hanoi, February 1*)

A tall young American civilian . . . , Ron Fleming, 26 years old, a Harvard graduate, was defending his home in Saigon. Like scores of other Americans in the South Vietnamese capital, he had concluded that law and order was broken down. . . .

All over Saigon, particularly in the heavily populated outer suburbs, Americans have taken up arms to defend their homes.

"We have no choice," said Richard Taylor of the Christian Missionary Alliance. . . . "We have bullet holes in our shutters. Men like Fleming afford some degree of protection. Without them we would have no one."

Mr. Fleming lives in a compound of five houses in the Chilan area, an American community of nine men, three women, and four children. Some of the heaviest fighting in Saigon has occurred two blocks away. . . .

The group said American helicopters had been making frequent machine-gun and rocket flights over the heavily populated civilian area behind them.

"The civilian casualties over there must be fantastic," said Mr. Fleming.

One of the Americans in the compound said: "We are more frightened of the allied forces than the Vietcong. A helicopter could wipe us out in a couple of firing passes."

The Americans have seen no Vietnamese policemen or troops since early Wednesday morning.

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One of them commented: "If the Vietnamese won't defend their capital, what will they defend?" (*Associated Press, Saigon, February 1*)

In the same area [the Saigon suburb of Giadinh] anyone wearing a police or army uniform was told to take it off immediately. (*Charles Mohr, Saigon, February 2*)

Vietcong soldiers and agents were reported circulating openly in some heavily populated parts of Saigon today amid reports that the National Liberation Front had announced formation of a revolutionary council to run Saigon.

In at least two city areas, men knocked at doors and told the occupants: "We are from the National Liberation Front. We have come to liberate Saigon."

A Hanoi radio broadcast quoted the Vietcong as asserting that they had seized complete control of many important sectors around the city and the population had come to their support.

"The people of Saigon have risen up and smashed the puppet administrative machine and set up revolutionary power in many sectors of Saigon," the council added. (*Associated Press, Saigon, February 1*)

The fighting in the city [Saigon] has not been a hit-and-run affair. The last few days have indicated that the enemy underground is as effective in Saigon as it is in the most contested villages in the countryside.

The Vietcong who slipped into the city before Tet were absorbed into the population by the underground like out-of-town relatives attending a family reunion. (*Associated Press, Saigon, February 3*)

The success of the Vietcong in gaining easy access to Saigon and other cities brings into question the effectiveness of the security offered by South Vietnamese units.

Gen. William C. Westmoreland, commander of United States forces in Vietnam, may be forced to deploy more United States troops in defense of cities and towns, a role he has hoped would be carried out by South Vietnamese units.

A veteran of the French war in Indochina, which ended in 1954, commented: "I trace the French defeat in Indochina to the time when they were forced to use French troops to defend the cities. There are just not enough troops to do both jobs—fighting in the cities and in the jungles." (*Ibid*)

General Davidson [chief intelligence officer of the United States command] reported that in Hue as well as Quangtri, capital of the country's northernmost province, the guerrillas had set up

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revolutionary committees to rule the areas they held. South Vietnamese intelligence officials have reported the establishment of a similar committee in Saigon. It is said to include politicians and intellectuals not previously identified with the Vietcong. . . .

General Davidson, in his review of the situation throughout the country, noted that the enemy had "carefully husbanded his principal resources" while leaving initial attacks largely to local battalions and hamlet platoons. (*Tom Buckley, Saigon, February 5*)

A National Liberation Front communiqué [broadcast by Hanoi radio] gave a detailed breakdown of the victories the Vietcong claim they have won in South Vietnam. It emphasized that these "tremendous initial victories" had been achieved by the Vietcong "in close cooperation with the people."

The communique said that the Vietcong and the people had "seized control" of many provincial capitals. It named Banmethuot, Kontum, Quangtri, Bentre, Chaudoc, Mytho, Vinhlong, Soctrang, Travinh, Cantho, Camau, Rachgia, Caolanh, Mochoa, Tayninh, Bienhoa, Baria, Tudautmot, Baclieu and Longan. It added that the Vietcong had taken control of Hue, occupied Danang, and seized control of Dalat, Phanrang and Phanthiet. . . .

The communiqué said that in the face of the Vietcong offensive, the United States and South Vietnamese governments had shown "great panic and confusion." It said that the Saigon administration had "disintegrated" and that an "organization of all patriots" had come into being, which was urging millions of people to seize control of the city. (*Special to the* New York Times, *Hong Kong, February 4*)

The five-day offensive of the Vietcong in South Vietnam may yield nonmilitary gains that could radically alter the country's social and administrative fabric, Vietcong and North Vietnamese sources speculated here [Hanoi] tonight.

The sources were by no means minimizing the purely military gains made by the Vietcong in their attacks on South Vietnam's urban centers. They said the Vietcong had inflicted heavy losses on United States and "puppet" forces.

However, the sources stressed that the military drive was coupled with a carefully planned campaign aimed at the South Vietnamese administrative system.

The sources said the Vietcong had tried to "clear away" all local administrative systems and officials of the Saigon government in areas designated for evacuation. In such areas, the sources said, the aim was to leave an "administrative vacuum" when the Vietcong pulled out.

But in areas that the Vietcong planned to hold, the sources

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added, the guerrillas would set up an administrative system of their own.

The sources said that the pacification program was one of the main targets of the Vietcong offensive. They said that the National Liberation Front had ordered the "annihilation" of pacification teams throughout South Vietnam. (*Agence France Presse, Hanoi, February 4*)

The evidence provided by these quotations is of course fragmentary and doubtless of varying degrees of reliability. Nevertheless, taken altogether it points very strongly toward certain conclusions:

(1) What is now at issue is not particular military objectives such as the capture of terrain or the knocking out of military installations, but the ultimate question of *power*. It has long been said by the NLF and its sympathizers all over the world that the Saigon regime was a mere puppet of the Americans, enjoying no popular support and unable to last even a week if United States forces should be withdrawn. Nevertheless, in the larger cities and towns the puppet regime in fact exercised state power through control of police, army, courts, prisons, etc. In recent months, the Americans have even withdrawn large numbers of troops from the urban areas to meet the challenge of North Vietnamese regulars in the neighborhood of the Demilitarized Zone. Thus there has long existed and perhaps recently even been strengthened the illusion of a real government in South Vietnam. And paradoxical though it may seem, this illusion has been a fact of great political importance. It has been indispensable to all the lies about defending the freedom of South Vietnam, winning the war, and so on, by means of which the Johnson administration has succeeded in deceiving or confusing so many Americans. And it has effectively immobilized much of the urban population of South Vietnam, creating a sense of security in the Quislings and profiteers and of hopelessness in large sectors of the masses. *The events of the last week have shattered this illusion once and for all.* The NLF has proved for all the world to see that it has been telling the truth about the Saigon regime. Traitors to their country can never again feel secure. The urban masses now know that the only force capable of governing the country, including the cities, is

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the NLF. And more and more Americans, realizing that they have been brainwashed by stupid lies, will either have to repudiate United States policy or find some new justification for it.

(2) How much of the Saigon regime's repressive apparatus still remains is as yet unclear. Some hopelessly compromised officials and perhaps even whole units of the police and army will undoubtedly kill and destroy to the bitter end. But it is certain that the apparatus will be greatly weakened, and probable that defections to the NLF, both open and secret, will be on a large scale. If this turns out to be so, Washington's calculations about the "loss" of enemy strength through casualties will prove to be the opposite of the truth. Defections from a 700,000-man repressive force, once they begin in earnest, can make up many times over for even heavy battle casualties. "I can count," said Johnson at his February 2nd news conference. There is some doubt about that,* but it must be pointed out that in any case it doesn't do much good to know *how* to count if one doesn't know *what* to count. And in this respect Johnson and his advisers are flunking out now as they have repeatedly done in the past.

(3) Even before the general offensive, the NLF must have enjoyed at least the passive support of the overwhelming majority of the population. There is simply no other way to explain how nation-wide coordinated attacks, which must have taken many months to prepare, could achieve the degree of surprise which these attacks evidently did. Nor is there the slightest reason to doubt that after the stunning successes of the general offensive the prestige and authority of the NLF will have rocketed sky high. From now on any United States official or apologist who continues to argue that the NLF does not truly represent the people of South Vietnam will only be making a fool of himself.

(4) The situation now facing the Johnson administration is grim in the extreme. To be sure, it is too early to assess the

* Summarizing developments in Vietnam, the *New York Times* in its Sunday "Week in Review" section of February 4, stated: "The American command announced enemy losses of 12,704 killed. But this figure was compiled by South Vietnamese sources, and was regarded in Saigon as at least double, more likely triple, and possibly four times the actual count."

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full extent of the debacle already suffered by the Saigon regime, but it seems safe to say that there is no chance of its staging a comeback and that from here on the road will be downhill all the way. Given this prospect, it is hard to see how the United States can avoid choosing between two basic courses (each of which could perhaps have several variants). Either regroup the half a million troops already in Vietnam in defensible positions and allow the NLF to take over the rest of the country. Or pour in additional forces in an attempt to establish direct American military rule over the whole country.

The first course is in fact if not in name precisely the "enclaves" policy which has been advocated by, among others, General Gavin, George Kennan, and J. K. Galbraith. It would make sense only if it were understood as a preliminary to the opening of negotiations looking to eventual withdrawal from Vietnam. In this respect those who have denounced "enclaves" as merely a step on the road to withdrawal are absolutely right, for permanent "enclaves" could only be a formula for permanent fighting without any rational military or political goals.

The second course—attempting to impose direct military rule on all of South Vietnam—would require, at the very least, an army of occupation several times as large as the present force in that country. And since the United States does not have the men or the matériel or the means of logistical support to maintain such an army 8,000 miles from home, the nation would have to be rapidly placed upon something approaching a full war footing: the reserves would have to be mobilized; draft calls vastly increased; and the whole gamut of production, price, and fiscal controls clamped on the economy. Nor is this all. A permanent occupation of South Vietnam would make as little military or political sense as permanent "enclaves," and would in every way be vastly more costly and very probably end in failure to boot. The truth is that the logic of occupation leads to further expansion of the war with the avowed purpose of eliminating the "sanctuaries" and sources of supply without which the local population would presumably be unable to continue resisting. Thus would the policy of military occupation of South Vietnam lead inexorably into the fatal morass of an all-out Asian War.

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Withdrawal or all-out war. These are the real alternatives facing the United States. Retiring Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara almost said as much in his final annual report to the Senate Armed Services Committee, a censored version of which was released on February 1. As reported by Hedrick Smith in the next day's *New York Times*:

> One striking element of the assessment made public today, observers noted, was the emphasis placed on the need for progressive political action by the South Vietnamese government and the responsibility of the Saigon regime to provide the main impetus for ultimate allied success in Vietnam.
>
> "This total effort is one in which the people of South Vietnam must play the primary role," he asserted.
>
> "No matter how great be the resources we commit to the struggle, we cannot provide the South Vietnamese with the will to survive as an independent nation, with a sense of national purpose transcending the claims of family, friendship, or regional origin, or with the ability and self-discipline a people must have to govern themselves.
>
> "These qualities and attributes are essential contributions to the struggle only the people of South Vietnam themselves can supply."

That was of course written before the great general offensive of the NLF, when it was still possible to keep up the pretense that there was a real government in South Vietnam. By the time of the report's publication it was already being proved to the hilt by the people of South Vietnam that they have all the "qualities and attributes" McNamara was calling for, only as enemies not as allies of the United States. Once this reality is faced, as it soon must be, there will be nothing left for the United States to do but get out or plunge forward into an ever wider and more ruinous war.

(February 6, 1968)

Major Describes Move

BENTRE, FEB. 7 (AP)—"It became necessary to destroy the town to save it," a United States major said today.

He was talking about the decision by allied commanders to bomb and shell the town regardless of civilian casualties, to rout the Vietcong.

—New York Times, February 8, 1968

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VIETNAM WILL WIN

BY SHINGO SHIBATA

One military concept established during the Second World War is that "those who command the air control the enemy." This can be applied to many countries. For example, if a country should attack Japan on almost the same scale as the bombing of North Vietnam, would it be possible for Japan to hold out by itself for a month, considering the total weight of bombs used and the nature of targets such as roads, bridges, hospitals, schools, cities, hamlets, dams, dykes, power stations, and so on? To find the answer to this question, it is enough to recall the bombing of Japan in the last stages of the Second World War.

But as far as I can see, this military concept does not apply to Vietnam. One may reply that this is because Japan is an industrialized country and Vietnam an agricultural country. But if the same kind of bombing were done to Burma or the Philippines, what would be the result? From the military viewpoint, it can easily be estimated from the example of the air strikes by Israel against the United Arab Republic. From the point of view of the economy, the result would be speculation, cornering, inflation, and so on. In addition, the rural economy would be destroyed, transportation would be cut, and many would die of hunger both in cities and in farming areas. These agricultural countries would sooner or later be forced to surrender.

But these phenomena have not been seen either in North Vietnam or in the liberated areas of South Vietnam. The reason is that this war is basically a people's war, not a war of some

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privileged classes or the military. A people's war is possible only when there is a political demand which all the people share unanimously and which has an economic foundation to support it. In other words, the just demands for national independence, reunification, and socialism—without these concepts we cannot understand the fighting strength of the Vietnamese people.

Socialist Construction Under Falling Bombs

There are many things I noticed while driving south to the 17th parallel. One is that despite ever more severe warfare, ever more complete destruction, ever greater danger of human life, the Vietnamese people are amazingly cheerful.

Phan Xuan Tuynh, Chairman of the Quang Bing Province (near the 17th parallel), Commissioner for the Investigation of United States Imperialist War Crimes in Vietnam, 63, wearing a goatee like President Ho Chi Minh's, often laughed loudly while talking with us. When he spoke of the shooting down of a jet plane with a rifle and other successes, and about the destruction of cities, villages, hospitals, water conservation works, and so on, he laughed loudly. He appeared to be amused at the "effects" of the bombing, saying that "the Vietnamese people are not so easily defeated as some people think."

We got several reports from chairmen of administrative committees (village headmen), young men in their 20's, in our underground lodging on the northern side of the 17th parallel, listening to bombing and shelling. The session was characterized by its cheerful atmosphere of friendly chatting, not a tense atmosphere of defeat. In the flattened Vinh Quang village, at the mouth of the Ben Hai River, we found a similar atmosphere: a housewife combing her hair in front of a mirror in the trench, the smiling face of a little boy with the Vietnamese edition of Aesop's fables, the merry song of a young woman who never stopped rowing her ferry boat even under the flares of United States planes; this is the atmosphere. Wherever we traveled in Vietnam, we found the faces of the people serene, not defeated by the severity and bitterness of war.

Listening to the talk of the Vietnamese people, we found many interesting and delightful facts which kept us smiling with them.

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For example, they have one slogan which says "plow deep after the enemy bombing." Bomb craters in the fields are soon filled up and the crops are planted. Thanks to "deep plow," these crops grow faster than others. Bigger craters are used as fishponds, with aquatic plants on the surface and vegetables and fruit trees planted around. As a result, they reap a harvest worth 6 dong from one crater (3.53 dong = US$1.00; minimum cost of living per worker: 15 dong a month). Even while American planes are flying overhead, the Vietnamese often continue working in the fields. Only when the planes turn toward them to attack do the farmers dive into their foxholes and come to the ready. Even buffaloes have learned to lie down or go into trenches made especially for cattle.

Proper countermeasures are being taken against the destruction of water conservation works. Instead of large works, smaller ones have been built in large numbers. Water supplies and drainage are controlled by power motors. Crops which do not need much water are being planted. Improvements in fertilizers and plant breeding, the introduction of small farm machinery, agricultural rationalization, and many other innovations are being constantly introduced, thus increasing gross agricultural production year by year. It seems hard to realize, but fishing boats which cannot be sunk are being built, and fishing is going on continuously along the seashore, even where the United States 7th Fleet approaches. We were actually treated to meals of fresh fish caught there.

A similar situation is seen in industry. With the beginning of the bombing of the North, the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam made major changes in policy in industry and decided on a two-year plan of wartime economy (1966-1967). As a result, many factories were dispersed into the countryside. Although this temporarily led to a reduction in efficiency, industry has been reorganized. Despite the difficult conditions, the Vietnamese people maintained the same level of industrial production through 1966 as in 1965, the highest level ever. Production of machine tools, electro-motors, internal combustion engines, and similar products of the machine industry increased by 30 percent; agricultural machinery by 45 percent; transportation and communication industry by 72 percent; and

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during the first quarter of 1967 the record of industrial production advanced again beyond the same term of the previous year.

In this way, in most cases, local industries in every province and county are expanding, though with factories set up underground. Machines, farm machinery, fertilizers, soap, tea, tobacco, and so on are locally produced and each region is self-sufficient. Even the number of brands of tea and tobacco is increasing. When we asked how they get their raw materials for farm machinery, the answer was "they come down from the sky." Tens of thousands of tons of shell splinters are gathered and made into farm machinery and used to increase production. Tea labeled "Ben Hai" is produced even on the northern side of the front closest to the 17th parallel. I brought some "Ben Hai" tea in beautiful bags back to Japan. One of the ideals of socialism is to overcome the division between agriculture and industry; and the bombing of the North, though with certain restrictions, has forced the Vietnamese to promote "industrialization" and materialize one of the ideals of socialism.

In public hygiene remarkable achievements are seen. The United States forces have attacked almost all hospitals, and forced them to evacuate. Hospitals have therefore been built in every village, and physicians have been re-educated as surgeons, enabling them to undertake operations at any place and any time. As a countermeasure against biological warfare, preventive injections for cholera and typhoid, etc. have been undertaken, and sanitary wells and new-type toilets have become common in every part of the country. By these means, not only has the death rate of the wounded been sharply decreased, but sanitary conditions for all the people have been greatly improved.

One day we visited a semi-underground hospital in Ha Tinh province. In a concrete operating theater covered with shades, a young man was lying on the operating table; he had just had an appendectomy performed under an oil lamp. In one ward, a month-old baby who had had an examination was sleeping peacefully next to a young man whose arm had been crushed by the bombing. A doctor reported that these kinds of operations had never been possible in such places as this village before the bombing. On the battlefield, with the deafening continuous buzzing of United States planes heard like the knell of doom,

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difficult operations have been performed to save the lives of newborn babies. In this very contrast I find the true nature of the Vietnam war.

Dialectics of the Bombing of the North

I have given just a few examples of socialist construction going on under the bombing. Having investigated those living examples and heard so many reports, I call to mind the principle of dialectics, "the negation of the negation." It is true that the bombing of the North has caused great destruction and difficulty in Vietnam. But at the same time it has tempered the Vietnamese people, thereby enabling them to achieve things otherwise impossible and to increase their fighting strength. This is indeed a miracle. How has it been possible to put this "dialectics of the bombing of the North" into action?

We have to point out, as one of the reasons, the firm conviction of the Vietnamese people that they stand for a just cause; their spiritual strength and above all their creativity and patience are based on this conviction. Let me tell you about their incredible patience. Transportation units travel south from Hanoi with very bad road conditions, bomb craters everywhere, so that trucks bounce about at least once every 100 yards. People riding in the trucks are thrown about and hit their heads on the top. If a truck goes 200 kilometers in a night a rough calculation will show that those on the truck bounce some 2,000 times, and their whole bodies ache and their hands become blistered from holding on tight. I traveled under these conditions for a week, but Vietnamese riders experience them the year around. This is only a minor aspect of the patience of the Vietnamese people, but without this incredible spiritual strength, the miracle of the Vietnamese resistance could not have taken place.

If I were to say that the Vietnamese people are fighting with their spiritual strength only, it would be mere idealism. What is more important is the material foundation on which their spiritual strength is built. When we recall the historical and social conditions, we cannot forget the long tradition of the Vietnam Workers Party led by President Ho Chi Minh, who as early as 1945 proposed the slogan of "self-reliance," the struggle for the independence of Vietnam which has been guided

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by the Party, and the achievements of socialism.

In fact, before the revolution for independence in 1945, as a result of Japanese imperialism some two million people, that is, one out of seven, starved to death in North Vietnam alone. Compared with those days, even with houses and buildings destroyed by the bombing, the standard of living of the people is much higher now, and every person can have adequate rice and meat. So the food problem has been solved. Thanks to the socialist system, wartime evils common to capitalist economy, such as cornering, withholding, speculation, and inflation, cannot flourish. Even under wartime conditions people carry on planned, rational, industrial production. Even construction of shelters and new houses, sanitation works, and culture and education are all going on along with fighting and production, all undertaken purposefully and collectively under the cooperative system. If a member of a cooperative joins the army, his wages continue to be paid to his family, and so he has no worry on their behalf. There are no taxes; medical treatment and education are free. Commodity prices remain stabilized, and the price of paper, of medicines, bicycles, radios, and clothes have even been reduced. Men in the front line can carry on the fight quite free from anxiety, and their families willingly send husbands and sons to the front to protect the independence of their homeland and the achievements of socialism.

Before I visited Vietnam, I thought the war was for the defense of socialism. After one month there, however, my understanding was greatly deepened; it is more precisely "a war for the *construction* of socialism." The Vietnamese people are constructing socialism in the North while fighting the war.

Let me refer here to the relationship between socialism and war. Needless to say, socialism essentially seeks peace. But socialist countries, ever since their foundation, have been compelled to engage in wars due to the intervention by capitalist countries. Major examples of such wars include the "War Communism" of the Soviet Union from 1918 through 1920, the anti-fascist war of the Soviet Union from 1941 through 1945, the Korean War starting in 1950, and so on. By these wars, the Soviet Union and Korea were thoroughly devastated.

But it has been demonstrated that far from being defeated,

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socialism is *more* durable in war than capitalism. On this point, Vietnamese socialism is no exception. What is characteristic of North Vietnam, compared with wartime communism or wartime socialism of the past? Important factors are that there has not yet been any invasion by enemy ground forces, and material and spiritual support is given by the socialist countries (even though there are important contradictions between China and the USSR). What is more noteworthy is, at least in comparison with the Soviet Union during wartime, there is no military conscription; there is no starvation; the people are freer and have fuller scope; and they have set the aim and are working for socialist construction even in the midst of war.

Under any consideration, the policy of the Vietnam Workers Party for "socialist construction in wartime" offers a new theoretical and practical proposition, contrary to common opinion which holds that socialist construction is possible *only* in peace.

Justice of the Struggle of the Vietnamese People

Something else I have been thinking about since I gazed at the distant mountains of South Vietnam from the bank of the Ben Hai River: What are the true boundaries of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam? People speak of the DRV as the territory lying between the border of China and the 17th parallel. What is the truth?

To put it into historical perspective, when the Democratic Republic of Vietnam won independence in 1945, Vietnam stretched from the Chinese border to the Mekong Delta. In early 1946, when the general election was held, it was held in *all* Vietnam, and Ho Chi Minh was elected President of the *whole* country. Then came the aggression of the French forces which ended with the victory at Dienbienphu after the 8-year struggle against France. In July, 1954, the Geneva Agreements were concluded, and at no time did the Democratic Republic of Vietnam surrender sovereignty over that part that lies south of the 17th parallel. On the contrary, the Geneva Agreements explicitly stipulate that "the military demarcation line [17th parallel] is provisional and should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary." It further

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declares that: "The settlement of political problems, effected on the basis of respect for the principles of independence, unity, and territorial integrity, shall permit the Vietnamese people to enjoy the fundamental freedoms, guaranteed by democratic institutions established as a result of free general elections by secret ballot," which were to have been held in July, 1956. It is correct to say, in the light of these facts, that the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam rightly covers not only the area between the Chinese border and the 17th parallel but also that area which lies between the 17th parallel and the Mekong Delta.

But as everyone knows, the United States government refused to be a signatory to the Geneva Agreements; it established the Ngo Dinh Diem puppet regime (in October, 1955) and rejected the holding of the "free general elections" provided for by the Agreements. Further, it actually helped the Diem regime in its brutal suppression of the people of South Vietnam. It was in resistance to these measures that the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation was called into being in December, 1960. As a countermeasure, the United States government set up the South Vietnam Military Assistance Command in Saigon in February, 1961, and organized its "special war" against the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and the area under NLF control. When the "special war" failed, the United States expanded it into a "local war," and followed this with further escalation by bombing the North.

Seen in this historical perspective, United States aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam must be dated from the moment the United States interfered in southern Vietnam in defiance of the Geneva Agreements, and not from when the United States started bombing the North. One can be even more precise and date it from the time the United States first extended military assistance to the French. It is entirely correct for the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to try to exercise its rightful sovereignty over its own territory, which legally stretches to the Mekong Delta.

Another significant thing I have thought about while here. President Johnson uses the pretext of the "invasion of the South by the North" as the justification for bombing the North. Now the Vietnamese people have never denied the assistance that the

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North gives to the South and the fact that the South welcomes such assistance. Rather, the stand of the Vietnamese people is that this mutual assistance is a natural national right and obligation and is completely consistent with the spirit of the Geneva Agreements. They consider the South as the very front line and the North the near base. This is the password of the Vietnamese people. It follows, then, that the very attitude which refers to "infiltration of the South by the North" (as though the 17th parallel is or was intended to be a permanent political and territorial demarcation line) or questions whether a so-called "Ho Chi Minh Trail" does or does not exist, must be regarded as aggression against the Vietnamese people.

The very terms "North Vietnam" and "South Vietnam" are not politically correct, even though accepted for convenience. It would be much more correct, in my opinion, to speak of the "Democratic Republic of Vietnam, North" and the "Democratic Republic of Vietnam, South." And the demand of the Vietnamese people should be regarded as a demand for the restoration of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, reunited as one country. Who can deny that this is really a natural and just demand?

Victory of the Vietnamese People

Where does the Vietnam war go from here? It is obvious that one side will win and the other side will lose. But what is the real meaning of "winning the war"?

One of the phrases the Vietnamese people always use is "Vietnam will surely win." Looking at the present devastation of almost all towns and so many villages, some may interpret the word "win" as merely a morale-builder. If destruction is the goal of war, the Vietnamese people have certainly not destroyed American cities and villages across the Pacific Ocean, nor do they wish to do so. In this limited sense, the Vietnamese people cannot be victorious over the United States. But if it is true that war is the extension of politics by different means, is it not true that the Vietnamese people are much further ahead now than they were before the bombing of the North began, especially in regard to achieving the political goal of independence and reunification? Is it not true that the escalation signified by the bombing of the North has completely justified, if such justifica-

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tion were needed, the mutual assistance between the North and the South and is serving to accelerate the political and military defeat of the United States government in Vietnam?

In addition, the heavy burdens of the Vietnam war are aggravating the domestic contradictions in the United States. While the war industries are making huge profits, the program of "the great society" has been abandoned. Negro riots are growing, taxes have been sharply increased, inflation is growing worse, and the anti-war movement is expanding. In his 1967 State of the Union Message, President Johnson himself confessed: "We face more cost, more loss, and more agony." This outlook cannot be brightened, rather will it become more gloomy.

The United States forces will surely devastate the land still further and kill more Vietnamese people. But is it possible for foreign troops coming from far across the sea to continue to divide and rule such a people? Or, judged from an assessment of the present situation both in Vietnam, in the world at large, and in the United States itself, would it be possible for the United States government to continue its present policy for the next ten or even five years? This is surely impossible. There was a time when Japanese imperialism turned the land of China into an area of vast devastation; but in the turn of the wheel of time, defeat was inevitable. French imperialism traced the same fatal road in Vietnam and in Algeria. Is United States imperialism in any better condition now than were the Japanese or French imperialisms? I think not. American imperialism cannot but succumb to the same destiny, and Vietnam will win. The only remaining question is whether that time of victory will come late or soon.

General Ky is naturally willing to fight to the last American soldier and the last American dollar. It is about time that Americans should make their own decisions and stop blabbing about "commitments" and saying "it is up to Hanoi."

—Rear Admiral Arnold E. True

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THEY OUGHT TO KNOW!

I see no strategic or other reason for maintaining a base in Vietnam. . . . Our anti-Communist adventures bring us no return, while social programs suffer at home and twenty million of our citizens are in such despair that there is rioting in the streets.

—*Rear Admiral Arnold E. True*

Bombing it [Vietnam] back to the Stone Age is not going to stop the guerrillas from operating. They will come from Cambodia, from Laos, from northern Burma. We can pour troops into Vietnam to fight conventional warfare and still have guerrillas operating there fifty years from now. . . .

—*Brigadier General Samuel B. Griffith II*

I think we should go back to the 1954 Geneva Agreements and hold free elections in Vietnam. I have no doubt they would go Communist, but our own political morality demands that we abide by the results of free elections.

—*Brigadier General William Wallace Ford*

I believe that if we had and would keep our dirty, bloody, dollar-crooked fingers out of the business of these nations so full of depressed, exploited people, they will arrive at a solution of their own. —*General David M. Shoup*

I agree with U Thant that this is a war of national independence, not a case of Communist aggression. . . . I think we ought to get out the way we went in—unilaterally.

—*Brigadier General Hugh B. Hester*

We are prosecuting an immoral war in support of a government that is a dictatorship by design. In this new era of political unrest, we cannot police the world, we cannot impose our social system on other nations. . . . We are losing the flower of American youth in a war that could stretch into perpetuity. After four years of fighting, we cannot be sure of the security of villages three miles from Saigon. . . .

—*Brigadier General Robert L. Hughes*

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CUBA'S CULTURAL CONGRESS

BY JAMES HIGGINS

One evening in Cuba early in January, I met a young man, about twenty-four, who was in charge of "revolutionary orientation" in and around the city of Cienfuegos, Las Villas province. I made an effort to find out exactly what he did but for one reason or another, probably my own lack of "orientation" in the Cuban Revolution, there was no meeting of minds. He kept telling me that as regional representative of COR (Committee for Revolutionary Orientation) his job was to acquaint the agricultural and industrial workers of the area with the need for understanding and supporting this or that program of the Party. He said he was in constant touch with the organizations of the workers through the leaders, the committees, through mass meetings and so forth. He said that in general his task was to relate a specific program to the development of the whole Revolution and to carry on, starting from the basis of the work the people were doing, education in the principles of Marxism-Leninism as these were being applied in Cuba.

All of this, which seemed abstract to me at the time of our conversation—only a few days after my arrival in Cuba—now seems clear. But of course the trouble was that I failed to follow up with the logical question any competent reporter should have asked the young man: What party program are you dealing with right now? What are you and the people discussing? Maybe, though, it was a good thing I didn't ask the question that night in Cienfuegos. Because the question raised itself, and I finally got the answer, during the almost four weeks I spent in Cuba, absorbing as best I could the experience of Cuban Communism, which Fidel Castro describes as "not only a question of development of material wealth but also and most essentially a question of development of human awareness."

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One of my purposes in going to Cuba was to report on the Cultural Congress of Havana, an international gathering of "numerous workers in the intellectual field, coming from no less than seventy countries," who had been invited to hold an eight-day conversation on the responsibility of intellectuals "with respect to the problems of underdevelopment in The Third World."

Before, during, and after the Congress I traveled here and there around the island and talked, I would say, with at least several hundred Cubans—in the fields and shops, on the streets, at the coffee counters, bus stops, baseball games, schools, the University of Havana, resorts, ranches, city homes and country homes. Everybody, with no exception that I can recall, wanted to know at once—they invariably inquired with the utmost grace and courtesy—why I happened to be in Cuba at this particular time. And when I would begin to explain in my raw Spanish that I was an editor, a writer, assigned by magazines to report on a conference of scholars, scientists, and creative artists, I would encounter immediate recognition not of myself but of the event I had thought I was obliged to spell out for them. Not at all. "Ah, yes, yes," they would say, smiling, nodding their heads, "of course, you are here for the *Congreso Cultural*; it is very important."

Not until the end of January, just a day or two before my departure from Cuba, did I wake up to the fact that it was extraordinary for people everywhere, for workers, high school kids, athletes, bus drivers, waitresses, barbers, for peasants of the countryside, to be so familiar with the Cultural Congress. It was as if, say, in the United States, the annual meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Science were to be a topic of everyday discussion, a topic regarded by one and all as something extremely interesting and significant to their lives. "Listen," I said finally to the young woman who served as my guide and interpreter while I was in Cuba, "how does it happen that everyone everywhere I go is aware of the Cultural Congress?" Her reply had the double-barreled impact upon me which was characteristic of so many of my encounters in Cuba. I was constantly being stunned, that is, not only by what was said to me but by the implications contained in the natural ease,

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the readiness and ability to inform me, which was an integral part of the Cuban personality. Everybody seemed to be in on things, everybody seemed to be student and teacher at the same time, everybody seemed to be eager to engage in education.

"Why, Jeem," Lohania said to me, "there was a great national preparation for the Congress. There was the seminar held for a week, you know, at the end of October, when more than a thousand of our intellectuals met in Havana to talk about and to debate the themes with which the Congress would deal. Present were writers, artists, teachers, scientists, economists, technicians, all of our intellectual leaders. In the course of their exchanges, even though the original idea of concentrating on the problems of the underdeveloped third world persisted, it became evident that an even broader subject matter would emerge, the subject matter of the general liberation of mankind. . . ." (In this small sample of the conversational style of many young Cubans can be detected what appears to me to be the appealing influence of Fidel's public discourse, which does not have the design of Western rhetoric, of a speech "delivered" at an audience, but rather the design of dynamic interplay by means of which an understanding is being constructed. Thus while the language can be formal and the intent didactic, the tone is one of intimacy. I found it a compelling combination which reminded me of the two or three teachers who ever had any success with me in my days at Harvard and the University of California at Berkeley.)

But the meeting of the intellectuals, I said to Lohania, that does not answer the question of how ordinary people become aware of the Congress and even seem to me to have the feeling they are participants. I told her that conferences of intellectuals of various disciplines were nothing new in my own country but that these conferences were completely remote from the consciousness of the average American, who was not only in no position to inform himself about such things but didn't care about them, any more than all too many intellectuals cared to communicate intelligibly with the average person. Lohania at this point referred me to a passage from the speech by the President of Cuba, Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós, who had opened the Cultural Congress on January 4. Here are parts of the passage:

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. . . there is something which should be recalled as an important aspect of our experience; and that is, that when insurrectionary struggle took place in our country against a form of political oppression, leading to the development of revolutionary struggle, it did not occur in a period of the history of the Republic of Cuba when anti-imperialist awareness was at its height. On the contrary . . . our people's minds, to an alarming degree, were filled with the successes achieved by imperialism. . . . There was exceptional penetration of an ideological nature through the press, through propaganda of all kinds, through the omnipotent use of the mass media, through the use of all those instruments that daily multiplied, expanded and thrived.

Lohania was telling me, in short, by way of this "reference work," that the separation between intellectual life and ordinary life, this condition which exists in the United States and which involves a subversion of the average mind by the powers of monopoly (imperialism), was also a part of Cuban history. "But," she went on, "the Revolution has permitted us to begin the work of eliminating separation and alienation and of bringing about an integration, a connection between all elements of the society which helps us," she said, "to gain an awareness of ourselves and our revolutionary task in Cuba and in the world." She then proceeded to describe to me the process by which the substance of the October seminar of Cuban intellectuals had been transmitted to the people. And it was here, of course, that I suddenly comprehended the exact nature of the "orientation" work which the young man of Cienfuegos must have been doing at the period of my conversation with him.

In December a pamphlet text under the heading "What is the Cultural Congress of Havana?" had been employed for discussion purposes throughout the island, "by local Committees for the Defense of the Revolution"—which have been established on what to my observation appeared to be a neighborhood or even block basis everywhere—in centers of work, military units, and schools, to familiarize the public with the work of the forthcoming Cultural Congress, to be held from January 4 to 11, 1968. I will quote just a bit of this document to indicate the serious simplicity of the style, an item that, I will explain later on, illuminates an issue which concerned the delegates to the Congress and which, indeed, makes an instructive comment

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on a fundamental problem for intellectuals, especially creative writers, of the western world: the relationship between "the general tendency of intellectual workers to be excessively individualistic at times" (from Fidel's speech at the close of the Congress) "and the universal consciousness that is being developed today." The first paragraphs of the pamphlet "What is the Cultural Congress of Havana?" go like this:

For the past few weeks our press, radio, and television have repeatedly mentioned the Cultural Congress of Havana. Many of you have seen the large posters announcing the event, in which writers, artists, and scientists from all over the world will meet to discuss the problems of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The principal problem in the history of the world today is the liberation of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It is the central problem of the second half of the twentieth century. These people are struggling for the solution of their dramatic problems and for an active personal participation in the contemporary world.

Think of what these millions of people will be able to achieve when they make their revolution and the people become the owners of their countries' natural resources, developing their agriculture and industry, when everyone will have the right to receive an education. Think of their contribution to humanity, to culture. As José Martí said in reference to our America, "The day she begins to shine she will approach the sun in her radiance, the day we put an end to our country town life." And on another occasion he said: "A world is what we are trying to bring into equilibrium. . . ."

Since the triumph of the Revolution, Cuba has become the meeting place of intellectuals, scientists, and artists from all the world. They have come here to get acquainted with the first socialist revolution on our continent, the first revolution of that type in America. The dynamic spirit and originality of our Revolution have made it possible for intellectuals of the various countries to find here a favorable medium in which to discuss and analyze the problems of the contemporary world, especially those of the underdeveloped countries. The people of Cuba, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, believe that they have a great responsibility toward their brothers of Africa, Asia, and Latin America who have not yet attained true national independence. This is why the Congress is being held in Cuba.

Precise, plain, substantial sentences, are they not? Educators anywhere, regardless of their attitude toward the ideas expressed, would surely agree that they constitute a model manual for

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instructional objectives. Therefore it interested me to learn on the day before I left Cuba, in a talk with an eminent poet who played a leading role in the planning and conduct of the Cultural Congress, that the pamphlet was the work of one of Cuba's most distinguished and, yes, most individualistic, imaginative writers. Which leads me to another quotation, this time from the General Resolution approved at the final session of the Congress:

> From the struggles of the preceding generations for their liberation from exploitation, and from the contemporary struggle of the peoples who fight against all aggressive manifestations of imperialism, the image of the new man is emerging. . . . Once selfishness, upon which the exclusivity of individualism has been based in the preceding societies, is abolished real individuality will be increasingly enriched. The new man will not be an inimitable and eternal image: he will change with the passing of time, he will change with science and technique and with incessant imagination.

The novelist to whom I have referred is himself a case in point, an illustration of the "emerging new man" and of the duties assigned by the Revolution to the intellectual vanguard. The vanguard, whose intellectual ideology has been shaped by experience in the historic era of capitalism, with its emphasis on the value of individualism—and this is the situation of most of the delegates who came from the outside world to Cuba's Cultural Congress—is confronted not only by the actuality but by the very thought of Revolution with two related challenges: (1) How to retain the strengths of hard-won individualism so as to go forward, and (2) How to renounce the weaknesses of the old individualism which include egotism, selfishness, and disdain for the potential of ordinary people. The eminent poet who, like the man who wrote the pamphlet, has endured the agony of these challenges presented by the Cuban Revolution, provided me with an insight into the resolution of the intellectual's conflict by telling me about discussions among imaginative writers now in Cuba. He said:

> We have decided that we must do two things. We must do our best, with open hearts and minds, to get into contact with the consciousness of the people on terms familiar to that consciousness. We must remember that the masses of the people have only recently learned to read and that they necessarily, also, still think somewhat

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in concepts of a pre-revolution sort. And yet we must remember, too, that we have much to learn from the masses, whose experience of suffering from previous exploitation in their daily lives taught them things that they recall more vividly than we do. In that sense they are better able to appreciate the reality of the liberation which the Revolution has achieved. Which is to say they have no nostalgia for the past. They recollect it as the *tiempo muerto* (the dead season), the phrase which the sugar mill workers used in describing their annual period of more than three months of unemployment, with no income whatsoever.

So by successful contact with the masses we intellectuals are able to become stronger in our own revolutionary convictions. But we are also able to place before the people, as in the pamphlet on the Cultural Congress, certain significances which the people's present lack of intellectual capacity prevents them from discovering spontaneously. To sum it up, they learn from us and we learn from them. And we go on together. But that is only the first of our intellectual responsibilities. The second, as we see it, is this:

To continue to compose, as writers, musicians, painters, filmmakers, as artists of every field, in the most advanced styles. We must not restrict our imaginations. For it is in the flexible freedom of the creative imagination that the points of future reference are made for the masses—who, I might say, as you probably have observed, catch on very quickly. If we are wise and responsible we allow their pressure to inspire us to new inventions, new revelations, new experiments in form and content. It is a cooperative process, of undreamed-of possibilities.

His words appeared to me to define the meaning of Cuba's Cultural Congress, one purpose of which was, I am sure, to enlist the intellectuals of the world in the work of revolutionary liberation of peoples still imprisoned by imperialism. Régis Debray, French intellectual and friend of the Cuban Revolution, comrade of "the new man," Che Guevara, who fell dead in the enemy territory of imperialism in Bolivia, is a living symbol of that imprisonment. Debray's presence in a Bolivian jail, and Che's heavenly presence, were factors in shaping the mood of the delegates to the Congress, prompting them to a fierce concentration upon what Fidel called in his closing speech "the exemplary fighters of these times, the Vietnamese fighters." ("How they fight!" Fidel exclaimed. "How they defeat that almighty Yankee imperialism!") He spoke on January 12, hanging his words upon the concrete figures of Che, Debray, and the fighters of Vietnam.

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Time will tell to what degree the delegates to the Cultural Congress learned, from the people of the Cuban Revolution, lessons which the Cuban hosts no doubt hoped to impart. Lessons, to quote Fidel's closing speech again, "of our people's revolutionary spirit, the internationalist spirit they have developed, the feelings of solidarity which have been created through the struggle itself and which have found inspiration and received support from all over the world." The Congress, in any case, provided the world's intellectuals with a remarkable opportunity, which in my opinion most of the delegates grasped. That opportunity consisted of an encounter with the joyful, serene, confident humanity of Cuba these days, where good deeds and warm feelings abound, where therefore any worthy aspiration of mankind seems to be within the realm of realization. Let us see as the days go by what happens to and with the relationship initiated in January between the people of the Cuban Revolution and the thinkers and artists of the wide world.

Revolution creates the conditions of a true cultural mutation. That is why in the Third World . . . the revolutionary experience is the only valuable foundation of the "cogito." It provokes an exalting coincidence between thinking and social being. To make a revolution is the first historical evidence and the first cultural value which brings us to a new postulate of reasoning: I make the revolution, therefore I am, therefore we are. . . . We cease to be the *zombies* of history.

—René Depestre, Haitian writer in exile in Cuba

Nothing could be more anti-Marxist than dogma; nothing could be more anti-Marxist than the petrification of ideas. And there are even ideas propounded in the name of Marxism which seem to be truly fossils. Marxism has had thinkers of genius: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Lenin, to mention the outstanding founders. But Marxism needs to develop, break away from a certain rigidity, interpret today's reality from an objective, scientific viewpoint, conduct itself as a revolutionary force and not as a pseudo-revolutionary church.

—Fidel Castro

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THE INTELLECTUALS AND THE REVOLUTION

BY ALONSO AGUILAR

Intellectuals recognize, of course, the usefulness of exchanging impressions, of assembling and getting to know each other; but through an old tradition of isolation, of individual labor, and even through simple prejudice or lack of opportunity, only exceptionally does the possibility of examining common problems arise, especially among intellectuals of different countries. The Cultural Congress of Havana, held with singular success from January 4 to 12 of this year, was one of those rare and happy occasions. During eight fruitful days, in the warm and hospitable atmosphere of a new and beautiful Cuba, against the stimulating background of a revolution on the march and in the framework of unrestricted liberty for each and every participant, about 500 writers and artists, scientists and technicians from 70 countries met to examine the cultural problems of the so-called Third World.

This writer had the good fortune to participate in that Congress and to meet and begin to form an opinion of fellow cultural workers of the most diverse languages and national origins; to see the Cuban people forging ahead, undismayed, regardless of the blockade and the hostility of imperialism; to hear the splendid speeches with which President Dorticós inaugurated and Major Fidel Castro closed the Congress; and, finally, to witness the emotional embrace of two Vietnamese intellectuals, one of whom limited his message to the assembly to a few moving words: "North and South Vietnam are not two separate countries; they are merely two cardinal points of the same nation, a nation all of whose inhabitants, like brothers, struggle to defend themselves against aggression and genocide."

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The Havana meeting is so recent, impressions of it are so fresh, that it is difficult to see it in perspective and to evaluate its achievements with objectivity. But I would dare to say that it was a genuinely historic meeting, destined to exercise a profound influence on the progressive intellectuals of the world. In making this assertion, I am aware that there were defects of various kinds and that certain limitations were, in the end, insuperable. It would have been desirable, for example, to examine deeply the socio-economic context in which the countries of the Third World develop and to try to establish with greater precision the determining factors and the levels of their backwardness; it would also have been useful to examine further the forms that dependency takes and the changes that are being produced in the mechanics of imperialism, as well as to proceed further in the examination of class structures and in the sketching out of a common strategy of struggle for the radical transformation of the underdeveloped capitalist countries. On another level, there were defects and lacks which are to a considerable extent inevitable: delegates who frequently appeared to be more disposed to talk than to listen; a lack of concreteness in certain formulations; the tendency of some people to relate and describe isolated facts rather than to examine the ensemble of basic questions raised by the organizers; and moments in which, in spite of the high level of the participants, the dialogue resembled a slow succession of monologues.

But the Congress, let me repeat, was extremely important. Unlike other reunions in which an intellectual is defined as a writer or artist, in Havana intellectuals in the broadest Gramscian sense participated: poets and dramatists, physicists and doctors, actors and economists; old party militants and youths just entering the revolutionary struggle; blacks and whites; Europeans, Asians, Africans, delegates from Vietnam, India, Mexico, Algeria, and Laos.

The Havana Congress provided an opportunity to confirm that the situation of the underdeveloped countries of Latin America, Asia, and Africa—that is, those that have not yet been liberated—could scarcely be more deplorable: the wretched standard of living of the masses; violent contrasts of poverty and riches; limited development of productive forces; profound dis-

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tortions and disequilibrium, both domestic and external, of the national economy; structural dependence on imperialism at all levels, chronic waste and exhausting depletion of growth potential. In the sphere of education and culture: illiteracy and religious fanaticism, lack of schools, technical backwardness, widespread alienation, cultural forms imposed arbitrarily and even violently by the dominant country; in sum, a mutilated, inhibited culture, degraded by long periods of dependence and spoliation, in which at times even many of its more valuable manifestations have been destroyed or survive only in a superficial, decadent, weak folklorism, imposed in large part by the imperialist metropolises or by the exigencies of tourism and the foreign market. And that degraded culture is not only a consequence but also, simultaneously, one more instrument of exploitation.

Underdevelopment is not an isolated fact, nor is it recent or accidental; it is a situation arising from the long process of capitalist development which has become more acute under imperialism. To claim that the backwardness of the three poor continents is unrelated to the social system implies the adoption of an apologist position and exonerates the system of its major historic responsibility. The *capitalism of underdevelopment* is distinct, of course, from classical capitalism, but it is nonetheless capitalism, a dependent capitalism in which productive forces develop slowly and unequally, with marked ups and downs, in which the dominant class is also a dominated class, and in which the workers themselves suffer incredible alienation.

The poor countries are, in other words, countries exploited from within and without, countries plundered by foreign trade and foreign investors, by the removal of mineral wealth, by industrialization itself, and by the steady flight of vast financial resources, based on the plentiful profits of a regime of brutal exploitation of human labor. As the Haitian writer, René Depestre, said so well: "The Third World finds itself very far from occupying the place its dignity requires."

To attempt a throughgoing alteration of such a situation within the capitalist framework is utopian. Experience proves this to be so. Obstacles to development are structural,

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which means that they can only be transcended by a radical transformation of the social structure which generates them.

Cuba has eloquently demonstrated that, in order to begin to develop on minimally rational bases and to open new paths in science and technology, it is necessary to put an end to private ownership of the means of production and to restore the alienated wealth to the national patrimony; it is necessary to root out parasitism, corruption, dependence, and the exploitation of man by man. Without a militant and victorious struggle against imperialism and its servitors within each country, it is impossible to conquer poverty and underdevelopment or to affirm the values of a genuinely national culture, a culture capable of projection on a universal level.

As the General Declaration of the Congress stated:

> If the defeat of imperialism is the inevitable prerequisite for the achievement of an authentic culture, the cultural fact *par excellence* for an underdeveloped country is the revolution. Only by means of it can a truly national culture be conceived and a cultural policy instituted which returns to the people their true being and makes possible the move toward scientific progress and the enjoyment of the arts.

Imperialism in decline can no longer offer anything to the peoples who seek new cultural horizons. Irwin Silber was right when he said, at the Congress: "The only artistic works that are being created in the United States are of a negative and destructive character. The United States has lost its ability to produce an art of affirmation. The heritage of Whitman and Sandburg is dead. The North American dream has turned into a nightmare." [Retranslated from the Spanish.]

To expect that imperialism will today make large cultural contributions would be as puerile as to trust in its disinterested economic aid or in its sincere support of genuine representative democracy. Imperialism has become a zealous, violent, and arbitrary guardian of the old order. What Latin America receives from it concretely are not creative ideas in the fields of science and art but political censorship, witch hunts, the blockade of Cuba, the manipulation of publications through dumping, the "brain drain" among professionals and technicians, the corruption of intellectuals by means of scholarships, subsidies,

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grants, etc., and even the inquisitorial burning of progressive books and the sending of paid provocateurs and CIA agents into our universities.

Probably there are those who think that cultural development calls for peace and tranquility and is incompatible with the violence that accompanies revolutions. But between culture and revolution there is a close and dialectical relation. Without liberty, intellectual creation is not possible. And liberty cannot arise by magic in the world of scarcity, dependence, and exploitation. The attempt to preserve the status quo is, more and more, a strait jacket that makes the atmosphere stifling. True culture cannot divorce itself from the people and their most cherished aspirations, since in them it finds its energy and its principal goals.

A Hungarian delegate stated the problem in its proper terms: "The most we can do for the education of the new man is to assure him of the possibility of educating himself in practice in the Revolution." Or, in the words of Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez, of Mexico, "The art vanguard has to make contact with the political vanguard which leads the struggle for the radical transformation of society," since "artistic rebellion within the framework of social conformism is an accomplice of the bourgeois order."

This brings us to the problem of the role to be played by today's intellectual. And here also, the Havana Congress contains valuable lessons.

At no time, in my judgment, did it fall into the error of thinking that the revolutionary struggle is dependent on intellectuals. But from the start one could note an attitude of respect, of recognition for their labor, and an affirmation of the value of their contribution to that struggle. It was frequently recalled that intellectuals are accustomed to living under privileged circumstances, that this often isolates them from their people and even converts them into docile servitors of the bourgeoisie. The discussion, however, went further: it broke with the old patterns and prejudices and claimed intellectuals as authentic workers. "Through an imported vice of mechanical thinking," Nils Castro, Cuban writer, said, "we axiomatically classify our intellectuals in the convenient global category of the petty bourgeoisie, vacillating

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and not very trustworthy. . . . And yet, they are usually people who own nothing salable but their [intellectual] labor power."

Recognizing that the motor of the struggle is the people, he emphasized the responsibility of the intellectuals; he recalled the inestimable contribution of the students; and he repudiated, as was to be expected, that strange form of sterility which arises from the presumed neutrality of the artist or the scientist. Of what use is an intellectual of polished technique if he evades his responsibility toward the problems of his time and the duties of his métier and his very quality as a man? "The intellectual," the Spanish writer Gabriel Celaya pointed out, "is above all a man, and today no man can remain neutral."

The only real dilemma which the intellectual faces is that of taking sides, of choosing whom to serve: the people or the privileged. And if he truly wants to contribute to the development of a culture worthy of the name, his commitment to the people becomes indispensable.

It was made clear at the Havana meeting that a revolutionary is not one who quotes Marx, who passively and mechanically repeats revolutionary slogans, who adopts an infantile leftism; even less is he one who indulges in left-wing tourism, traveling from one congress to another.

> For the intellectual who truly wants to be worthy of the name there is no alternative but to become part of the struggle against imperialism and contribute to the national liberation of his people while it still suffers colonial exploitation.
>
> In that struggle there are highly diverse forms of participation, but only he can call himself a revolutionary who, guided by the advanced ideas of our epoch, is disposed to face all the risks, and for whom the risk of death in the fulfilment of his duty is not a reason for ceasing to serve his country and his people. (*General Resolution of the Congress*)

The participants in the Havana Cultural Congress were aware that the struggle for a better world is arduous, and almost always bloody. They were aware that violence is inherent in that struggle, as is so dramatically attested to by the aggressions against Santo Domingo and, above all, against Vietnam and by the innumerable crimes against Lumumba, Ben Barka, Camilo Torres, Ernesto Che Guevara, and so many other truly revolutionary intellectuals. But they were also aware that, as

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Debray has said, "the secret of the intellectual's courage resides not in what he thinks but in the relationship between what he thinks and what he does."

May the revolutionary thought present in Havana crystallize in new and vigorous actions that contribute to the final victory!

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THE REVOLT AGAINST SATELLIZATION IN SCOTLAND AND WALES

BY KEITH BUCHANAN

We're bought and sold for English gold . . .
—Robert Burns

One of the most striking political trends in Britain in recent years is the resurgence of the Celtic nations of Scotland and Wales. This manifests itself in the almost meteoric rise of the Scottish National Party and of *Plaid Cymru* (the Welsh National Party). Both parties have in recent years become an increasingly significant political force at the local government level; their entry onto the national political scene dates from the Carmarthen by-election of July, 1966, and the Hamilton by-election of October, 1967.[1]* In the Carmarthen by-election the *Plaid Cymru* candidate, Gwynfor Evans, captured a traditionally safe Labour seat with a majority over the Labour candidate of some 2,500 (as a result of the doubling of the *Plaid Cymru* vote); in the Hamilton by-election the Scottish National candidate, Mrs. Winifred Ewing, captured the seat in a landslide victory which converted a Labour majority of 16,576 into a Scottish National majority of 1,799. As the *Sunday Times* commentator observed, this finally destroyed the carefully-cultivated myth that Scottish Nationalism is "merely a Celtic fringe posture identified with the kilt and bagpipes in the Highland twilight." In the South Wales constituency of Rhondda West (again a traditional Labour stronghold in the heart of the Welsh mining region), *Plaid Cymru* quintupled its vote between the March 1966 and March 1967 by-elections, with a 1967 vote only 2,500 less than that of Labour. The extent of this challenge to Labour in its industrial "home zone" is best seen

* Footnotes will be found at the end of the article.

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if the Carmarthen and Rhondda results are combined. The pattern which emerges is:

	Votes	*Percentage*
Plaid Cymru	26,246	39.3
Labour	26,115	39.1
Liberals	8,650	13.0
Conservatives	4,009	6.0
Communists	1,723	2.6

These figures, together with the Hamilton result, suggest that the nationalists are now capable of making major political advances, at the expense of both Conservatives and Labour, in the heavy industry regions of both South Wales and Scotland, that this challenge to the supremacy of the English-based parties can no longer be shrugged off, and that, since the majority of these seats is held by the Labour Party, the "Celtic revolt" is likely to shake further the already tottering foundation of the Wilson government. And the significantly greater attention given by the British government to Welsh needs since the election of *one* Welsh M.P. is likely to strengthen the appeal of the nationalist parties in both Wales and Scotland.

"A mixture of ruthlessness and mockery"

This nationalist upsurge is partly a reaction to the economic disparities (especially in the field of employment) between the two Celtic countries and their more wealthy English neighbor, partly a reaction against long centuries of cultural and economic oppression. As an editorial in the *Observer* commented: "Over many centuries and until quite recently, the English treated the Irish, the Scots, and the Welsh much as the Germans have treated their Slav neighbours—with a mixture of ruthlessness and mockery."[2]

The pattern of oppression and exploitation followed the classic lines of all colonial adventures: the use of superior military force to break the resistance of the indigenous folk, followed by the imposition of a new social and political structure designed to make possible the more profitable exploitation of the country's resources—and, as in so many Third World countries today, the success of colonialism depended partly on the collaboration with the colonial power of a significant proportion of the local

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elite (the clan chiefs in Scotland, the Welsh aristocracy in Wales). Indeed, it might be claimed that some of the techniques of colonial control which England was subsequently to apply so successfully to her overseas colonies were first tested and perfected in her own "internal colonies" in the Celtic West.

Wales was formally "incorporated, annexed, united and subject" to England by the 1536 Act of Union. The Welsh language was to be "utterly extirped" (a policy which came close to success in the south and the east of the country during the 19th century); education and the professions were Anglicized, and increasingly the road to all advancement lay through the English language; the members of the aristocracy were "bribed and transformed into Englishmen." And, as the industrial revolution gathered tempo, the men and minerals of Wales played a critical role in the emergence of England as the dominant manufacturing power of the period.[3] The resources of Wales were channeled into the enriching of her English neighbor and more especially of the emerging class of wealthy industrialists. The process of exploitation left a devastated landscape, a dangerously specialized economy dependent on coalmining and ironworking, and a population ravaged by malnutrition, tuberculosis, and silicosis.[4] Culturally, this period was disastrous, for many parents, faced with the choice for their children between the traditional tongue and one that would enable a young person to compete in the labor market, deliberately chose English as the medium of education.[5] The result has been the virtual disappearance of the Welsh language in the South Wales industrial and mining region.[6]

Scotland was formally united with England by the Act of Union in 1707; this joined the Scottish and English Parliaments. The resistance of the clans was not broken, however, until 1745 when, at Culloden, the victory of the English army under the Duke of Cumberland brought the Highlands under English control.[7] The victory was followed by a deliberate policy of destroying the traditional society and its culture: the abolition of the hereditary jurisdiction of the clan chiefs destroyed the social and political system which held society together; the banning of Highland dress and tartan "took from the clans their pride and their sense of belonging to a unique people."[8] The

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victory also paved the way for the Clearances of the next hundred years during which, by force and fraud, by fire and bayonet, the Highlanders were driven from their holdings to make way for a colonial-style economy, based on extensive sheep-farming, which brought great wealth to English business interests and to the local clan chiefs who collaborated with them. This exploitation, as John Prebble has written, "was within the same pattern of colonial development—new economies introduced for greater wealth of the few, and the obstacle of a native population removed or reduced."[9] It was a pattern of exploitation subsequently repeated by Britain in her overseas colonies suited to settlers of British stock, and in a more sophisticated form it is this process of exploitative development that still governs the relationship between Scotland and her more powerful English neighbor.

This relationship was—and still is—a satellite/metropolis relationship of the type described by A. G. Frank;[10] within it, no real and balanced development of the satellite could take place. And, as the Welsh and Scottish nationalist movements realize, it is only by breaking this pattern of dependence that the various manifestations of underdevelopment in the Celtic countries can be eliminated and real development—economic, social, cultural —be initiated. This is the awareness which lies behind the nationalist resurgence in what are today England's largest remaining colonies.

"Water to the river"

"As water flows to the river, so does money to the rich," observes the French demographer Alfred Sauvy—and this summarizes the relationships between England and her neighbors to the West. Half the total population of the United Kingdom lives—and votes—within 125 miles of London: it is this single fact which, in the view of the Scottish National Party, explains "the tremendous plans for South East England and the destruction of much of Scotland's social and economic and cultural fabric."[11]

The scale of the outward flow of wealth from Scotland to England is suggested by the fact that in the fiscal year 1964-1965 the government in London collected from Scotland, in

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taxes and duties of all kinds, a total of £741 million; over the same period, as admitted by James Callaghan, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, the London government spent on, and *loaned* to, Scotland £600 million. The net outflow is thus £141 million yearly, equivalent to £3 weekly for each Scottish family. This difference of £141 million is interpreted by the Scottish National Party as "a subsidy to the South, to maintain the high standards of living of South East and Midland England, and to provide more jobs there." The situation with regard to Wales is more difficult to evaluate since, as was illustrated by the government's reply to Gwynfor Evans' question as "to the total amount paid in direct and indirect taxes in Wales . . . and the total government expenditure in Wales," the basic information "is not available," at least officially.[12] However, a group of economists working in the University of Aberystwyth under the direction of Dr. Edward Nevin[13] showed that the total cost of government in Wales (including armaments and national debt interest) was £215 million in 1956 while the amount paid from Wales into the London Exchequer was £220 million.[14] The sedulously propagated idea that Wales, or the Welsh Local Authorities, are dependent on financial aid from Wales' wealthy neighbor is thus simply not borne out by the facts; rather is wealth flowing out of Wales, though on a less massive scale than in the case of Scotland.

The relative underdevelopment of the Celtic nations vis-à-vis England—and the pattern of spending which prolongs this underdevelopment—can be seen from the following table:

	England	*Scotland*	*Wales*
Percent unemployed (March 1967)	2.3	4.0	4.0[a]
Percent work-force receiving industrial injury benefits (1965-1966)	0.3	0.5	0.9
Expenditure per mile on roads (1964-1965)	£1,667	£1,145	£1,089
Motorways planned (miles per million population)	15.1	11.5	8.9[b]
Expenditure on railways electrification (1965-1966)	£197M	£15M	Nil

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Percent of households with telephones (1966)	25.6	23.0	15.0[b]
Expenditure on defense industry (percent UK total, 1965-1966)[c]	74	6	3

a. 4.8 percent in mining districts of the South. In April, 1935, the figure was 32 percent, as against 12 percent for England.
b. Wales and adjoining border counties.
c. Some 17 percent spent overseas or in Northern Ireland.

The gap between the "metropolis" (England) and her economic satellites is obvious enough; what is more critical is that the gap has widened. Wales has 10,000 fewer jobs than a decade ago, Scotland 45,000 fewer;[15] while in England the number of jobs has increased over the same period by three quarters of a million. To take two other indices: in 1951 the percentage of England households having telephones was 6.2 percent higher than the corresponding figure for Wales, but by 1966 the gap was 10.6 percent; since 1960 the number of hospital beds in Wales has decreased by 647.[16]

The cumulative effect of these social and economic differentials shows itself in the strong tide of migration from Scotland and Wales towards the "metropolis," and without this emigration the employment situation would be disastrous. Over half a million people left Wales between the two world wars and a further hundred thousand in 1945-1949; at the 1951 Census 680,000 people born in Wales were living in England. The loss to Scotland through emigration is put at 400,000 between 1951 and 1961;[17] the training and education of these migrants is estimated to have cost Scotland £400 million; but the human loss, in terms of minds and muscles which might build a new society, is incalculable.

A Satellite Economy

It has been fashionable to explain the differences in living levels and employment opportunities between England on one hand and Scotland and Wales on the other in terms of the "poverty" of the Welsh and Scottish environments. This geo-

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graphic determinism has little basis in reality. Wales, for example, is, on a per capita basis, better endowed with coal and agricultural land than England. The country produces 99 percent of Britain's output of tinplate, 92 percent of the output of sheet steel, and 24 percent of the crude steel. Her income from tourism is some £55 million. Scotland has a rich inventory of mineral resources,[18] and, as a result of the Highland Clearances, some six million acres devoted at present to either sporting use (grouse and deer) or extensive sheep-rearing; with forestry and ancillary occupations these semi-waste lands might offer a living to a quarter of a million men.

The limitation of employment opportunities in the two Celtic nations arises, not from poverty of resources, but from the fact that the development of Scottish and Welsh resources has taken place within a colonial framework. This has meant that the industrial structure of Scotland and Wales has developed as a truncated structure; the emphasis has been on extractive and heavy industry, and the processing of the basic materials has been concentrated in England. Thus, of the tin-plate produced in Wales only 11 percent is processed for finished products in Wales, of the Welsh-produced sheet steel only 4 percent. And the export of these semi-finished products obviously means for Wales a loss of employment, a loss that is England's gain. Similarly, of the 13,915 million kwh of electricity produced in Wales, one third is fed into the English grid; of Wales' water resources, one third goes to meet the thirst of English industry; of the teachers trained in Wales, one half are absorbed by England—"part of the brain-drain besides which the much publicized English brain-drain pales into insignificance."[19]

Over twenty years ago Lamont, writing as a Scottish nationalist, saw clearly the political roots of this economic and social depletion—that these roots lay in an imperialism under which "outlying regions are subjected increasingly to exploitation and impoverishment by centralised authority—in this case, in London." This imperialism brought industrial concentration in the "metropolis" and debasement and satellization of Britain's Celtic colonies long before the German "New Order" attempted this in Europe.[20]

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"A fullness of life which is truly human"

That this nationalist upsurge is in part economically motivated is suggested by the Hamilton result, for this constituency is located on a dying coalfield on the margins of industrial Glasgow. But the economic motivation is only part of the story; equally important is the fight against the "shattering disintegration" of English materialism which, as Gwynfor Evans says, threatens "the reduction of our society to a mass and . . . our people to a proletariat."[21] And it is worth stressing that the society which evolved in Wales over the last three centuries, the society which has been increasingly shattered, *was* a society very different from that of England. It was a society with a high degree of homogeneity, a society which, "if not classless, lacked the sharp class distinctions of England, and was marked by a lively intellectual activity and a powerful concern for things of the mind and the spirit. A political characteristic was a passion for social justice which gave Wales her radical bent. . . ."[22] These characteristics were strengthened by the 18th century Methodist revival[23] and they are characteristics which *Plaid Cymru* is striving to defend, both in its domestic policy, with its emphasis on "a fullness of life which is truly human," and its external policy which rejects involvement in England's "imperialistic adventures" or the association, through the British government, "with such obscenities as the war in Vietnam."[24] And the only kind of domestic order within which social justice can be achieved is, the Welsh nationalists argue, a decentralist order; only by the widest possible distribution of responsibility can men achieve the quality of which life is capable and avoid the evils inseparable from excessive concentration of political or economic power.

The same emphasis is found in the program of the Scottish National Party. The economic needs of Scotland are emphasized —but no less stress is given to the non-material needs of the Scottish people. "We want prosperity for our nation. We want bread for our people. But we want dignity too. For we know that bread is not enough to sustain the lives of men. We want health for our cities. But we want more than that—graciousness and breadth and beauty too."[25] The program draws inspiration from "the sense of neighbourliness and the democratic intellect

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of the Scot" and, like the *Plaid Cymru* program, emphasizes need and the desirability of "maximum possible democratic devolution in all spheres of human activity."

The nationalist reaction is, thus, not only against economic exploitation but also against the systematic devaluation of human beings which the English bureaucratic system of government has involved; against, too, the political doubletalk of the established parties which, as Gwyn Thomas puts it, "currently has reached such a degree of systematic gibber not even the wizard Merlin could find a point of contact between the expressed beliefs and the real motives of a society like ours."[26]

Towards a Confraternity of Nations

Both the Welsh and Scottish parties are agreed that it is only through complete devolution or decentralization that the continuing destruction of the fabric of the Welsh and Scottish nations can be arrested, that the real and balanced economic development which alone makes possible a truly meaningful human life can be initiated, and that the positive weight of these ancient nations can be made felt on the international scene. The pattern proposed lays emphasis on freedom rather than independence; it envisages a "confraternity" of the four nations (England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales) which make up Great Britain, a confraternity which would be an association of equals rather than a federation dominated by England. The status of Wales and Scotland would be comparable to the status of the independent Commonwealth nations, i.e., they would have complete internal self-government (so that any economic or defense arrangements with England would be negotiated as between equal and sovereign states) and would apply for membership to the United Nations.

In external affairs both parties are anti-imperialist, stressing the economic and strategic dangers to their nations resulting from England's foreign adventures. *Plaid Cymru* emphasizes the distortion of the British economy caused by the enormous expenditure on armaments, an inevitable corollary of the imperialism the party rejects; it also asserts the right of the Welsh people themselves to decide on the issues of war and peace, to remain

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neutral if they so wish. The Scottish National Party emphasizes that never in her long history has Scotland been an aggressor and is opposed to nuclear weapons for Scotland or nuclear weapon bases in Scotland (and thus rejects English policy which sites *all* the British Polaris bases and maintenance depots in Scotland). Its defense program includes a small defensive army, navy, and air force; the cost to the Scottish taxpayer is estimated at £115 million compared with £190 million which was Scotland's 1966 share of United Kingdom defense taxation levied. The economies thus achieved would make possible a significant diversion of funds into the creating of better social services at all levels in the community.

In their domestic policies both parties show an awareness of the social cost of an unfettered capitalism and set themselves against such a system. *Plaid Cymru*, says Gwynfor Evans, has been anti-capitalist from its inception; it advocates not abolition of property but a more even distribution in the old Welsh tradition. The Scottish National Party holds that "society should be so developed and wealth distributed so as to give everyone the freedom and dignity which is his or her right." In this field, as in other fields, there is a remarkable parallel between the programs of these parties and the program of Cambodia's Popular Socialist Community.[29] And with political freedom the planning of the Welsh and Scottish economies as full economies, and not as semi-economies geared to the needs of a still imperially-motivated England, will become possible. This will involve the restructuring of an industrial sector at present designed in the interests of English industry, of an energy base and a transport system constructed to meet English rather than local needs; and in this restructuring a considerable measure of decentralization is envisaged. *Plaid Cymru*, for example, points to the scope that exists for producer and consumer cooperatives in urban and rural areas and for local authority participation in industry, and emphasizes: "There is a huge field for experiment here . . . those communities that venture far in humanising industry will be great benefactors of mankind." Here, as at other points in the nationalist program, the preoccupation is with curbing the power of an overpowerful bureaucratic state and of giving maximum opportunities to the smaller community units ("beneficial,

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autonomous sources of vitality") and to the individual-in-the-community.

The Challenge of the Celtic Resurgence

The maintenance of the existing semi-colonial situation is supported by strong vested interests (including political interests) on both sides of the Welsh and Scottish borders; while the Labour and Conservatives Parties are united in their opposition to the idea of national freedom for Wales and Scotland. Herbert Morrison, speaking for the Labour Party in 1945, declared: "I will never allow the economy of Wales to be planned on national lines."[30] R. A. Butler, speaking for the Conservative caucus, declared: "We cannot accept . . . a Welsh Parliament to run Welsh affairs."[31] But the Liberals, after advocating "a Scottish Parliament and a *Council* for Wales" in their March 1966 Manifesto, endorsed "the creation . . . of Welsh and Scottish domestic *Parliaments*" six months later (i.e., after *Plaid Cymru* had won the Carmarthen by-election). However, as the election results quoted at the beginning of the paper show, the Nationalist Parties have demonstrated they can make gains at the expense of *all* the established parties, and their challenge can no longer be ignored or contemptuously dismissed. And as a result of success they are, in the words of Frances Boyd "in no mood for party pacts, for 'home rule' as distinct from independence, or for marking too dogmatically lines of policy that would certainly, if they attained power, confront them with schism."[32] Their policies remain pragmatic on many issues, and this is inevitable in the formative phase of this type of movement when the broadest possible consensus must be established on the fundamental issues. But on these fundamental issues—the opposition to imperialism and nuclear armaments, the right to neutrality in England's overseas adventures, the importance of the small community in a nation's economic, social, and political life, the belief that the primary responsibility of a nation's political and economic system is to make possible a full and truly human life for all its citizens—on these issues both parties are firm.

The economic problems of Britain and the singular lack of success of the Wilson government in coping with these problems

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will strengthen the appeal of these nationalist movements, since Wales and Scotland are feeling the economic pinch most strongly. But if the economic motivation were the *only* force at work, Welsh and Scottish nationalism might prove to be yet another of those lost causes to which the Celts have traditionally rallied. That these movements show every sign not only of surviving but of extending their hold—and ultimately achieving freedom for England's largest remaining colonies—is due to the fact that they boldly integrate the most positive values of Welsh and Scottish societies with a forward-looking radicalism directed to achieving a true Welfare State. It is due also to a reality many other nations are discovering—that nationalism is in truth "the greatest social power on earth, a liberating force which can and does bring freedom for men and nations in its train," and that "if those who guide it are imbued with the highest human values, its benefits for mankind will be incalculable."[33] To this writer the significance of the Celtic resurgence—and its strength—lies precisely in its attempt to reconcile the claims of the nation with those of the individual citizen and of humanity as a whole.

FOOTNOTES

1. A Scottish National candidate gained the Motherwell seat in the early 1940's but lost it in the Labour landslide of 1945.

2. *The Observer* (London), March 12, 1967.

3. For a vivid account of this period, see Gwyn Thomas' novel *All Things Betray Thee* (London, 1949), republished by Monthly Review Press (New York, 1968) under the title *Leaves in the Wind*; and Alexander Cordell's novel, *Rape of the Fair Country* (London, 1959).

4. This plundering, and ultimate abandoning, of the coal and iron regions of Wales and Scotland is analogous to the process of exploitation and abandonment of the "geo-economic cores" of Brazil (e.g., the gold, sugar, and coffee regions). See Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," MONTHLY REVIEW (New York), September 1966, pp. 17-31.

5. See *The Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales* (report to the Ministry of Education by the Central Advisory Council for Education (Wales), London, 1953).

6. See Margaret Davies, *Wales in Maps* (Cardiff, 1951), Figure 97 and maps in *The Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales*; for the pattern of industrial development set into historical perspective, see J. Idwal Jones, *Atlas Hanesyddol o Gymru*, i.e., "Historical Atlas of Wales" (Cardiff, 1952).

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7. For the character of this colonial campaign, of the terror which followed it, and of its implications, see John Prebble, *Culloden* (London, 1961, Penguin Books, 1967).

8. John Prebble, *Culloden,* p. 314.

9. John Prebble, *The Highland Clearances* (London, 1963), p. 324.

10. Andre Gunder Frank, *op. cit.,* pp. 17-31.

11. *SNP and You* (Scottish National Party, 1966), p. 4.

12. Question and answer given in *Black Paper on Wales* (*Plaid Cymru* Stationery Office, Cardiff, 1967), p. 18.

13. Edward Nevin, *Social Accounts of the Welsh Economy* (Cardiff, 1956) and *The Structure of the Welsh Economy* (Cardiff, 1966).

14. A later estimate of Wales' payments to the London Treasury is £350 million. Comments *Plaid Cymru,* "Much of YOUR money helps subsidise motorways and railways in England, bureaucracy, the Bomb, military interference abroad."

15. Minister of Labour, in reply to question by Gwynfor Evans, cited in *Black Paper on Wales,* p. 2.

16. Minister of Health, in reply to question by Gwynfor Evans, quoted in *Welsh Nation,* (Cardiff, September, 1967), p. 2.

17. *SNP and You,* p. 4.

18. For an early but still useful inventory see Archie Lamont, *Scotland: A Wealthy Country* (Glasgow, 1945). Lamont argues that "in proportion to population we are no less than three times better off than they (i.e., the English)." p. 57.

19. *Black Paper on Wales,* p. 24.

20. Archie Lamont, *op. cit.,* p. 58.

21. Gwynfor Evans, *Welsh Nationalist Aims,* pp. 4-5.

22. Gwynfor Evans, *op. cit.,* p. 2.

23. On this, and especially on the influence of the Methodist revival, see Anthony Conran, *The Penguin Book of Welsh Verse* (Harmondsworth, 1967). The later part of this anthology contains translations of some of Wales' outstanding Nationalist poets, e.g., Saunders Lewis.

24. Gwynfor Evans, *op. cit.,* p. 8; *Black Paper on Wales,* p. 25.

25. *SNP and you,* p. 3.

26. Gwyn Thomas, *Now Lead Us Home* (London, 1952), p. 222.

27. Gwynfor Evans, *op. cit.,* p. 8.

28. *SNP and You,* pp. 22-23.

29. Keith Buchanan, "Cambodia Between Peking and Paris," MONTHLY REVIEW (New York), December 1964, pp. 480-92.

30. Quoted in *Plaid Cymru: Wales Matters to You,* p. 14.

31. *Ibid.*

32. Writing in the *Guardian* and reported in *Auckland Star,* November 28, 1967.

33. Gwynfor Evans, *op. cit.,* p. 19.

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INTERVIEW WITH MIGUEL ANGEL ASTURIAS

BY IRA MORRIS

Morris:

It's a joy for us American writers who would like to see a world in which there is more justice, that you, who are openly progressive and who show it throughout your writings, have been given the most important of all literary prizes! I want to ask you now if this award won't encourage young Latin Americans to write more frankly, more deeply, about life in Latin America?

Asturias:

It will no doubt be useful. I believe that progressive young Latin Americans will feel encouraged to create novels and stories calling for a better life for their truly wretched compatriots. They would merely be following the literary tradition of Latin America, which has existed since we achieved a national life. Our writers have always spoken of those rich and fertile countries, those countries with an abundance of produce and populations but which are wretched, exploited, deprived of land. This is why I believe that with the awarding of the Nobel Prize to a man who has always written the truth about the sufferings of the Latin American peoples, and especially about my country, Guatemala, we can expect a truer literature, a more real literature. Even though we Latin Americans often dabble in "magic" literature, it is a magic which must be united with reality. Take my own novels, for example. When I write of magic it isn't the sort of magic that figures in children's books. My characters are people who feel themselves persecuted and beaten down, and for that reason they seek the aid of magic; they look for help beyond the barrier of reality where there may be someone willing to be drawn into their battle against the oppressors. Magic, in short, is a weapon for people who

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Ira Morris is the author of MR Press book, *The Road to Spain*, and many other novels, of which the most recent is *La Borgia*. This interview with Miguel Angel Asturias, Guatemalan novelist and 1967 winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, took place recently in Paris.

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have no other way of defending themselves—and this I have tried to show in my novels. Therefore I believe that my Nobel Prize will encourage all those writers who, like myself, believe that literature is not just a pastime but a means of fighting for the people and denouncing the evil that is done them.

Morris:

You have great writers in Latin America. Do most of them agree with you that the peoples of Latin America have a right to a better life, and are they ready to fight for this right?

Asturias:

In answer I want to point out that it's not only at the present time that the writers of Latin America have fought for a better life for their peoples. I believe that all our writers, in all periods—I am speaking of the *true* writers, of course—have written novels, studies, essays, even poems in which they have demanded a better life for their compatriots. If we take the nineteenth century, for example, we can mention the names of all the great writers of Latin America. In their writings, all have demanded justice, land, bread: they have called for a better distribution of wealth among the populations. You know that we have had what we call Indianizing novels, which are novels dealing with the Indian. This novel genre originated in the eighteenth century. Since the eighteenth century there have always been novelists, either of Indian race or *mestizos* [mixed blood], who have been concerned with the sad life of the Indians. In their novels we always find the same denunciations, the same demands for justice. The Indians, as you know, are the most wretched class of our population, but there are many others who are frightfully wretched, and there has never been a lack of writers concerned with their condition. There is a good deal of talk now about Latin American writers, young ones of course, who write novels about the more advanced society, about the middle class for example, or about the wealthy bourgeoisie, but still the true novels of Latin America remain those in which we find a demand for justice for the Latin American peoples.

Morris:

You yourself have a good deal of Indian blood. Do you believe that the revolutionary spirit that pervades Latin America at present extends to the Indians? Do the Indians really participate in the great movements of social revolution, or are these movements largely composed of whites and *mestizos*?

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Asturias:

Unfortunately, the Indians are not a part of those movements—not visibly at least. The Indians have been exploited for four centuries, they have been killed for four centuries. They don't have the confidence that a Vietnamese in Vietnam, for example, can have. The Indian, when he sees a white man, when he sees a *mestizo,* is always suspicious, and we cannot wipe out in a few days or in a few months all the Indian's anguish, all the tragedy which, as I said, has lasted for four centuries, during which time he has been despised, exploited, the victim of every kind of mistreatment. This is one of the problems that the social revolution faces in these Latin American countries with large Indian populations, like Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador: what are we going to do with our Indians? Naturally, the Indian would like to make his revolution, but what interests him would be a change in the social order as it concerns himself; he is not interested in changing the social order for the *mestizos,* for the whites. He would like to have his own revolution. It is this duality that seriously weakens the great revolutionary movements in Latin America. In spite of this, I think that the Indian is beginning to associate his problems with the problems of the disinherited in general. He tries first to have enough to eat and puts other problems that plague him in the second rank. The problem for many Indians is simply that they do not have enough to eat. They are so reduced in their human condition that they cannot continue to live as they are now doing. In many Indian tribes a large percentage of the children are sickly. You perhaps know that in Latin America 20 out of 100 newly-born children die during the first days because of the deterioration of the race through undernourishment. In some of the large countries in South America, Brazil, for example, infant mortality is developing at an appalling rate and the means of palliating this are at present lacking. It is these conditions of wretchedness that will perhaps make the Indian open his eyes and drive him to join his struggle to that of the *mestizos* and the white men who already have a revolutionary spirit.

Morris:

Are the Indians aware of the revolutions that are occurring throughout the world? Are they aware of the revolutions of the Africans and the colonized Asiatic countries, or are they almost totally ignorant as to the events abroad?

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Asturias:

It can be said that they are more or less informed as to what is happening, which of course has not always been so. When I was in Guatemala in August and September of 1966,* I found that the Indians were quite well informed as to world events, and I wondered how they had learned what they knew. They don't have money to buy newspapers, and besides most of them do not read. Then I realized that they had obtained their knowledge through transistors. For many of them do have transistors; there is at least one in each population center. And they listen to them constantly. They don't always understand what is happening, but in any case they now have a contact which they did not have before, thanks to the radio.

Morris:

Now I'd like to take up a quite different subject, and ask you a question about the surrealism in your writings. You have said, if I remember rightly: "Guatemala is a surrealist country," and you could well be considered a surrealist writer, or at least as a writer deeply influenced by surrealism. In your works, this surrealism manifests itself in various ways, but especially, perhaps, in the mingling of folklore and legend with the darkest and most dramatic realism. It's a technique which you use with great effectiveness—perhaps more than any other writer. Have you been influenced by European or Latin American writers, or is it a kind of writing that you yourself have developed and more or less originated?

Asturias:

I believe that when people speak of surrealism in my books they do not equate it with French surrealism. French surrealism is very intellectual, but my surrealism is more closely associated with the texts and narrations of the ancient Indians, the Mayas, the Aztecs, and so on. When I was in Paris in the twenties I had many surrealist friends. I can mention, among others, my very good friend Robert Desnos—now dead, alas. He was a really brilliant young man of that time, and he made a point of saying, "There you have the real surrealists: the South Americans. We produce surrealism, but the South Americans *live* as surrealists. They live

* This was Asturias' first visit to his native country since the deposition of Arbenz. In the interim he lived in exile in Argentina (his wife's country), France, and Italy.

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in a dream-world, half in reality, and one finds in their books metamorphoses, and a shifting back and forth between those two worlds. In other words, they have the capacity of transforming the world of dreams into reality and truth." Well, Desnos was right. We Latin American writers have many outlets for our fantasy, because there is an element of sorcery in the life of Indians. This life, as I said a moment ago, is essentially tragic, but the sorcery side enables them to survive, despite all their wretchedness.

Morris:

I am going to ask you a question which will show up my ignorance. Are there other Latin American writers, great writers I mean, who could be characterized as surrealist, like yourself?

Asturias:

Yes, yes. Naturally. I can mention the outstanding one, Juan Rulfo, who is the author of *Pedro Páramo.* This book is a magnificent specimen of Indian surrealism. I admit that in my own books there are too many archetypes, and that my literature is too baroque, one might say. Like the Mayas, I don't like blank space, so I add words, and sometimes I wind up with what amounts to a galaxy of words! But in the novel *Pedro Páramo,* the spirit of the Indians reveals itself stripped of unnecessary verbiage. These writings could be described as small canvasses on which are painted all the details of Indian life. Other writers who have gone in for surrealism could also be mentioned, including some poets. I believe that the great Peruvian poet, César Vallejo, was really an Indian who went in for surrealism, achieving remarkable transpositions. He is one of the great masters of Latin American literature. Even in certain of Pablo Neruda's poems we find surrealism. Especially in one of his first collections, *Residence on Earth,* we find those surrealistic blends of dreams and reality that he does so marvelously and that mark him as a poet of the first order.

Morris:

And what about the black populations of Latin America? Haven't they brought from their continent quite different legends and a folklore indigenous to Africa?

Asturias:

Yes indeed! The blacks who first came to America as slaves have added their culture, their beliefs, their sorcery to the culture

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of Latin America. In certain countries, in Brazil especially, but also in countries of the West Indies like Cuba and Haiti, and in regions of Venezuela and the coast of Ecuador, we have great black populations which have a special literature of their own in which things are in perpetual motion, as one might say. We find a carnival spirit here in which songs and tears blend.

Morris:

You have mentioned Cuba. That reminds me of the name of a writer who may be considered a surrealist, and who is surely a major literary figure: Alejo Carpentier.

Asturias:

You are quite right. Carpentier has been very much influenced by surrealism. He lived, as I did, in Paris in the years 1926-1934, and like myself he had close associations with surrealist artists and writers. In his book *Los Pasos Perdidos* [*The Lost Steps*] this influence can be clearly discerned. And then there is another book of his that I like very much. It is one of the first books he published and is called *Ecue-Yamba-O*.

Morris:

In this book, as a matter of fact, there is a great deal about the mythology of the blacks of Latin America. To conclude, I should like to ask you something about your writings. Your books have been translated, I believe, in many countries, but they are unfortunately less known in English-language countries.

Asturias:

That is so. I believe that now all my books are to be published in America, even the trilogy on the banana industry, which has been stigmatized up to now as "anti-American." My first book translated into English was *El Señor Presidente*. Quite recently *Mulata de Tal* has been brought out in the United States under the title of *Mulata*.

Morris:

You say that this trilogy "has been" considered anti-American. No longer now?

Asturias:

Well, now the story of the banana plantations in Guatemala has become a part of history, inasmuch as these plantations have

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almost disappeared. The largest grower company has left my country to set itself up in Honduras and in Ecuador. Actually nothing has changed as concerns the exploitation of Latin America by the banana companies (nor by any of the other large American companies); and I think it would be very interesting if a certain class of readers in North America were to be given these books in which I describe how these big companies, these gigantic trusts, treat the countries of Latin America.

Morris:

May I ask you what you are writing now?

Asturias:

I am working on a novel which is already well advanced and which is entitled *A Thief Who Did Not Believe In God.* It is a story which takes place in Guatemala at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century, in which I tell how a group of Spaniards lost its way among the Indians. This theme seems to me to be highly symbolic.

Morris:

Thank you very much, Miguel Angel Asturias. This interview has been most interesting for me, and I hope that it will likewise interest our readers.

The thinker's function is to contribute our share to the description of reality, to improve (so far as we may) the modes of getting things chosen and done. This is everybody's guarantee of honor in other people's thoughts. It is the sole true objectivity, namely, a bias in favor of mankind.

—*Barrows Dunham*

The times of that superstition which attributed revolutions to the ill will of a few agitators have long passed away. Everyone knows nowadays that wherever there is a revolutionary convulsion, there must be some social want in the background, which is prevented, by outworn institutions, from satisfying itself.

—*Engels*

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WORLD EVENTS

By Scott Nearing

Socialists Are Innovators

Builders of socialism, like any other innovators, face problems that range from matters of principle to issues of minor detail. The faster they move and the further they go, the greater the magnitude and diversity of the problems they face.

I believe it was Edison who said that he found 600 ways how *not* to make an incandescent electric bulb before he found the right way to do it. All experimenters and inventors face the same dilemma. If possession is nine points of the law, common acceptance and habitual practice are 99 percent in favor of the continuance of that which is. Consequently any departure from the beaten path runs a broad chance of condemnation and a narrow chance of acceptance. There are many wrong ways to tackle any problem and perhaps only one right way. The genius is not the man who makes no mistakes, but he who recognizes the right way when he finds it and uses his energies to put the new idea into practice.

Socialists are looking for the right way: to end ignorance and spread knowledge; to end haphazard and substitute plan; to end chaos and bring order; to end war and make peace. They are trying to discover some of the answers and to teach them to anyone and everyone who is willing to listen and learn.

Civil Liberties Under Socialism

It is instructive to take a look at some of the problems which socialists are trying to solve in order to provide themselves and their associates with more of life's good things. Perhaps we could begin with the question most often asked: "If you were in Moscow, Peking, Prague, or Sofia, could you stand up in public, denounce the government and get away with it? In short, do people in socialist countries have what we call free speech and other civil liberties?"

A considered answer must take the place of a simple yes or no to this question. Under any form of governing authority

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the "rights" of the individual are limited by necessities, decisions, and requirements of the group. Justice Holmes answered this question definitively when he said: "The right of free speech does not include the right to yell 'fire' in a crowded theater." In this area, as everywhere in an organized community, the rule of reason prevails.

The individual is part of the social group in which he lives. He has rights; he also has obligations and responsibilities. Freedoms and responsibilities are interwoven and interacting. So long as social life exists, they cannot be separated. But they can be regulated, by custom, by law, by constitutional proviso. The principle which governs their regulation is the greatest good to the greatest number and the least harm to the least number. Responsible people in socialist countries are trying to apply that principle in building and operating a new, unaccustomed, little-tried or untried form of human association. They must be watchful and wary in the beginning.

The degree of free speech in any community, capitalist or socialist, depends upon the degree of tension under which the community is operating. Emergency creates tension. Fire, flood, earthquake, war, invasion by the public enemy result in varying degrees of uncertainty and instability. In case of a local fire it may be necessary to exclude traffic from a single block. If a fire becomes a conflagration, an entire city area may be put under martial law, military law thus superseding civil law.

Socialist communities are subject to the same principle as others when it comes to civil liberties. Those in authority determine the degree of emergency and limit civil liberties accordingly. As socialism is new and largely untried, socialist authorities must meet situations as they arise, limiting civil liberties under the rule of reason. Each case must be decided on its own merits.

Food, Shelter, and Clothing

Socialists are denounced by their opponents for failure to guarantee civil liberties. A far more serious problem is the provision of food, shelter, and other necessaries. Unless it can provide for basic physical needs, socialism will have rough going.

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In one sense, the provision of adequate supplies of nourishing food and of adequate shelter is a primary task of any socialist administration.

Food supplies depend on farming. In every socialist country agriculture has turned out to be the weakest link in the socialist production chain. Production plans and norms have been applied to manufacturing and transportation without too much trouble. Both fields were organized under capitalism and in many cases highly centralized and integrated. But farming has been traditionally decentralized and carried on in most cases at the family level. Consequently, the individualistic farmer resented and resisted collectivization.

Successful Russian farmers resisted collectivization so stubbornly that Stalin thought it necessary to impose collective farming by state authority. In Poland the resistance was so determined that the program of collectivization was abandoned. Even today Polish farming is predominantly individual.

State farms, operated in the same way as state factories and state mines, were moderately successful; but in most socialist countries state farms comprise only a small percentage of the total. As a rule, with the possible exception of China, it has proved relatively easy to increase productivity in industry and far more difficult in agriculture. Consequently, agriculture has been a laggard in socialist countries.

Difficulties in building-construction have also been a problem in socialist countries, particularly those which had suffered heavy war damage. Population growth after the wars increased the need for housing. Only now, after years of socialist construction, is the supply of housing catching up with demand.

Austerity can be preached with moderate success under emergency conditions. As socialization proceeds, people expect, quite reasonably, that provision will be made for basic needs.

Equality Before the Law

A third problem faced by the builders of socialism is that of equality before the law. Are all people to be treated in the same way: those who give orders and those who take them? Are members of the Central Committee or the heads of government departments to be dealt with in the same manner as work-

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ers at the bench, in the refinery, or on the farm?

On one occasion Napoleon left his camp alone and at night. On his return he was challenged by a sentry and asked for the password. Napoleon had forgotten it. "Then you cannot pass," the sentry decided. "But I am an officer. Look at my uniform," Napoleon protested. "I am sorry," the sentry answered, "if you were the Little Corporal himself you could not enter the camp without the password." Napoleon bowed to this ruling and waited until he was recognized by others.

Money, privileged position, friends, vested interests, play a role in every community. An established society like monopoly capitalism has them all ticketed and priced. In a new society like socialism, no such systematic arrangements have been made. Consequently the rules must be made and amended as the society develops and matures. What was common practice in socialist countries in the 1950's may and probably will be modified or rejected in a subsequent decade. Matured monopoly capitalism had the entire 19th century to develop its theoretical justifications and work out its practical and institutional procedures. Even so, during the years from 1920 to 1936, under new pressures and facing new problems ushered in by scientific and technological discoveries, monopoly capitalist Western and Central Europe passed through a fascist stage during which altered theory was put to the test of modified practice.

Socialism, entering the field during the same period, was a pioneering enterprise. New concepts were formulated, new plans were drawn up, new practices were initiated, new institutions were inaugurated. Side by side with socialist developments, science and technology, under the pressures of endowed research, were multiplying problems as they spread through time and out into space. Socialist theorists and practitioners faced a doubly difficult task. They were pioneering new fields which were constantly modified by scientific and technological innovations.

Central Authority and Local Autonomy

Builders of socialism face the perennial opposition between central authority and local autonomy. In United States history the issue has been federal authority versus states rights. In the

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present-day scene it is imperial power, centered until the present generation chiefly in Europe, and the self-determination of nations and peoples, "discovered" and occupied by the European empire-builders during the four centuries beginning roughly in 1500.

The socialist world as presently constituted consists of two vast aggregates of land and peoples, the Soviet Union and People's China, plus a dozen relatively small individual countries such as the Eastern European socialist republics, organized chiefly from the former members of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; several Asian countries such as Outer Mongolia, North Korea, and North Vietnam, which have arisen out of the occupation and liberation of Asian peoples since 1895; and Cuba which has been avowedly socialist since 1960. Among these avowedly socialist countries, Cuba is probably the most unified ethnically. At the other extreme, the Soviet Union and People's China are aggregates of peoples with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, speaking different languages, holding various religious beliefs.

After the Bolshevik take-over, in 1917, with its declaration of the right of self-determination of peoples, one of the most important tasks faced by the newly constituted Soviet Union was the creation of an atmosphere that would induce the polyglot population to unite and stay united under the banner of socialist construction. The issue is more or less prominent in Yugoslavia and other states made up of nations and peoples heretofore independent and at times openly hostile. Coordination of divergent ethnic groups under a central political authority is one of the most noteworthy achievements of socialist construction in both Europe and Asia.

Another urgent problem of socialist construction is establishing and preserving a working arrangement that will enable culturally undeveloped peoples, relatively poor and weak, to work in harness with groups that are more culturally advanced. The Soviet formula for dealing with this problem is outstanding: to bring culturally backward groups as quickly as possible to the cultural level of the more advanced groups. This involves the principle "to each according to his need": where the need

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is greatest, the aid will be most extensive. This pattern has worked notably well in the Soviet Republics of Central Asia.

Dealing with Power

There is another momentous problem, for which the builders of socialism have not yet found an answer—the problem of sharing, delegating, and passing on power. This problem has nagged and tripped up peoples and civilizations one after another, because in the last analysis it is the crucial test of the success of all human association. If human beings could live as individuals, they could avoid the issue entirely. The moment they associate, even in small groups, they generate the power-problem by the act of association. As social groups increase in size and complexity the power problem grows by leaps and bounds. On the international and the planet-wide scale it dwarfs all other issues.

Some of these problems are peculiar to the transition stage between capitalism and socialism. Some are related to the age-old contradiction between individual wants and group necessities. Others are present whenever attempts are made to modify habits and transform institutions. Whatever their character, their solutions are the subject matter of socialist construction.

Socialists have bitten off a prodigious mouthful. If they succeed in masticating and digesting only half of it, they will have put mankind deeply in their debt. Every rational human being should watch their experiments with the closest attention, rejoicing when they succeed and regretting their failures. Our immediate forebears went through a similar experience when they developed the new way of life called capitalism. Our descendants will be able to judge, with historical accuracy, the present-day effort to build socialism. Right-minded people of this generation can hardly do less than wish success to the socialists in accomplishing their herculean tasks. They might take a more advanced position, lending a hand when opportunity offers.

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(Continued from inside front cover)

entitled "The Month in Review" by the editors of MONTHLY REVIEW. Our first program was devoted to Che Guevara. Future programs may include commentary by one or both of us, interviews with MR writers, reviews of books, or any other type of material which seems relevant and significant at the time. In other words, WBAI has given us wide latitude in planning the programs, which will be broadcast at 7 p.m. on the last Tuesday of each month. We would welcome readers' suggestions, and suggest that you call the program to the attention of your friends, especially those who are not (yet) subscribers to MR.

A few days ago we received the first copy of *Monthly Review: Edizione Italiana,* published in Rome under an arrangement made last summer with a group of Italian friends. The format is 8½ x 11 inches with three columns to the page. The paper and printing are of first quality. The first issue is numbered 1 and 2 and contains the whole of our November issue on the anniversary of the Russian Revolution, as well as (1) the editors' and Paul Sweezy's pieces on Marx and *Das Kapital* from the December issue and (2) the Review of the Month on the Cultural Revolution in China from the issue of January, 1967. On the whole, *MR: Edizione Italiana* is a very impressive piece of work, and we both are grateful to our Italian colleagues and wish them all success. The editorial address is Viale Mazzini 4, Rome 00195 (telephone: 388112), and the business address to which subs should be sent is Edizioni Dedalo, Viale Orazio Flacco, Bari 10124. The annual subscription rate is 3,000 lire.

We receive a good many manuscripts, both of article and book length, solicited and unsolicited. It is sad to have to report that a high percentage of them are just plain badly written. All too many authors seem to think that if they know their subject and/or if their politics are right (i.e. left), they have it made. As far as we are concerned, it isn't so. And we don't have the time or editorial staff—except in very rare instances—to work over manuscripts with authors. In some cases, the problem is carelessness, in others, failure ever to have developed writing skills. We would like to exhort younger writers and would-be writers: work over your manuscripts; practice writing; get the criticism of people with judgment and experience; don't use fancy words when simple ones express your meaning; avoid academic jargon. In a word, learn to say what you want to say simply and clearly. It is the only way to show that you respect and really want to communicate with your audience.

It is with great sorrow that we record the death of our old friend Bill Blake, author of the Civil War novel *The Copperheads, An American Looks at Karl Marx,* and many other books and articles. In recent years, Bill had lived in London with his wife, Christina Stead, the distinguished novelist. He was an incredibly learned man with a vast amount of experience and wisdom in a dozen areas of life, and he was also a warm and lovable human being. We shall miss him.

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REMINISCENCES

of the Cuban Revolutionary War

by CHE GUEVARA

This book is an extraordinary historical and human document.

It is that most dramatic of rarities, an account of a revolution by a leading participant. Nothing will ever be published about the Cuban guerrilla war to match this narrative by Che Guevara, which Fidel Castro has properly called "incomparable."

In terse and classic prose, Che the man reveals himself as nowhere else in his writings. From a raw and frightened youth, he developed into a battle-hardened veteran and supremely aggressive commander. Sick and often incapacitated, living and fighting under frightful conditions, he was the embodiment of grace under pressure. As he tells about those bitter and finally triumphant days, his humanity and compassion shine through his slightly mocking and self-deprecatory style.

The circumstances of Che's death give a special interest to his accounts of skirmishes and battles, spies and informers, the treatment of prisoners by both sides, the superb spirit and rough justice of the guerrillas and how they transformed themselves from a tiny troop to a powerful tide that swept away a well-armed dictatorship.

This book contains the most complete text in English. The narrative is supplemented by diagrams of battles, endpaper maps, photographs of the guerrillas in the Sierra Maestra, a biography of Guevara, Castro's funeral speech, and 26 remarkable letters by Che written after victory and before his departure from Cuba in 1965. Translated by Victoria Ortiz.

First Printing: 10,000. $6.95 ($3.50 for MR Associates)

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